

AN
EPI'TOME OF HISTORY;

A CONCISE VIEW

OF THE

Most Important Revolutions and Events,

Which are recorded in the

HISTORIES OF THE PRINCIPAL EMPIRES,
KINGDOMS, STATES, AND REPUBLICS,

NOW SUBSISTING IN THE WORLD :

ALSO THEIR FORMS OF GOVERNMENT :

Accompanied with short Accounts of the different RELIGIONS.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

By, JOHN PAXNE.

VOLUME THE SECOND.

Quidquid delirunt Reges, plectuntur Achivi.
Hox.

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ERRATA in the SECOND VOLUME.

- Page 128. line 12. *for them, read themselves.*
 209. - 11. *for Howell, read Holwell.*
 255. - 16. *for strength, read spread.*
 259. - 27. *for prevailed, read prevailing*
 277. last line but one, *for new, read newly.*
 428. lines 3. and 4. *for procure him only 200 labourers and artificers to embark with, read procure only 200 labourers and artificers to embark with him.*
 429. lines 17. and 26. *for Pedrarias, read Peccarias.*
 434. line 11. *for Estramadusa, read Ettranadusa.*
 459. - 9. *for asyum, read aylum.*
 474. - 18. *for Diago, read Diego.*
 492. - 15. *for 407, read sun.*

AN EPITOME OF HISTORY.

CHAP. I.

J A P A N.



THE empire of Japan is called by the natives Nippon, which signifies the foundation of the sun; the largest island, giving its name to the two smaller ones which belong to it. By the Chinese this country is called Zippon, or Siphon.

These three islands lie at the eastern extremity of Asia, in the same parallel of latitude with the northern part of China, and extend from S. to N. about 9 degrees of latitude, or from 31 degrees to 40. Their extent from W. to E. is about 12 degrees, or from 129 degrees to 141. Kämpfer observes, that the empire of Japan may, in many respects, be compared to the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland, being much after the same manner, though in a more eminent degree, divided and broken through by forelands, arms of the sea, great bays and inlets, running deep into the country, and forming many
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small islands, peninsulas, gulfs, and harbours. Beside, as the king of Great Britain is sovereign of three kingdoms, England, Scotland, and Ireland; so likewise, he adds, the Japanese emperor hath the supreme jurisdiction over three islands. The first and largest, called Niphon, runs lengthways, from E. to W. in the form of a jaw-bone, whose crooked part is turned to the N. A narrow channel or strait, full of rocks and islands, some inhabited, some uninhabited, parts it from the second, which is next to it in size: and from its lying to the S. W. of Niphon, is called Saikòkf, or the Western Country; and is about 592 English miles in circumference. The third island is situated between the first and second, and is nearly of a square figure, and, from its being divided into four provinces, the Japanese call it Sikokf, or the Country of Four. These three large islands are encompassed by an inconceivable number of others, some of which are small, rocky, and barren; others larger, rich, fruitful; and so populous as to be governed by petty princes.

The government and religion of the Japanese are so closely connected with their pretended origin, that it is impossible to separate them. These people are highly offended at the supposition of their being descended from the Chinese, or any other nation; for they assert that they arose within the compass of their own empire, and esteem themselves the offspring of their gods, who, during an inconceivable number of ages, governed that empire, in a regular succession

succession from father to son. Of these gods they imagine there were two races; the first perfectly divine; and the last, which descended from the former, partly divine, and partly human. But who were the subjects of these imaginary deities, they do not presume to determine; for they imagine that the present inhabitants were descended from Awase Dsu No Mikotto, the last of this second race; and that their original ancestors were all of them his children by his wife the goddess Isarapi Nomikotto. Thus, though they trace their original, as descended from the gods, even higher than the Chinese (for each of these imaginary deities reigned during a long succession of ages), yet they date the origin of the present inhabitants so late as about 600 years before Christ, when the genuine history of Japan begins with the reign of Sin Mu Ten Oo, the elder son of Awase Dsu No Mikotto. To the dairi, or ecclesiastical hereditary emperors, who were said to descend in a direct line from the eldest branch of their fabulous ancestors, the people attributed an almost divine power, and an unlimited authority over their fellow-creatures; while these emperors, proud of their illustrious and divine extraction, assumed a superstitious holiness, supported by the utmost pomp and magnificence. As they were respected as gods, they thought it beneath their dignity to trouble themselves with the management of political affairs; these therefore they left to the laity. In consequence of this, the power of the nobility increased; and those

princes of the empire not only made themselves sovereign and independent in the provinces committed to their government, but quarrelling among themselves, attempted by force to dispossess each other of their dominions. Hence were produced all the train of evils which spring from ambition, jealousy, rancorous hate, and the thirst of revenge.

At length, in order to stop the defection and check the ambition of the princes of the empire, the crown-general was sent against them at the head of the imperial army. The important post of commander in chief was commonly intrusted to one of the emperor's sons, and in course of time this post gave rise to the secular monarchy: for about 500 years ago, Joritomo, the crown-general, being disappointed in his hopes of succeeding to the imperial throne, assumed the sovereignty in secular affairs; and is therefore mentioned in the history of Japan as the first secular sovereign. The power of the ecclesiastical monarch was, however, still very great; and he retained the privilege of nominating the person who should succeed to the secular authority; but, in the sixteenth century, the person who at that time held this great office made himself absolute in the secular government of the empire. He was the daim's second son; and the laws of primogeniture depriving him of the hope to attain absolute authority from hereditary or divine right, he availed himself of the military force of the country, which he held under his control, to

wrest from the emperor, his father, all authority over secular affairs. But the functions which he had thus assumed he did not quietly exercise, for several of the powerful princes of the empire contended for their wonted independence; till at length, in the year 1583, a common soldier, named Taico, or Tayckoy, a man of an obscure birth, but of a bold and daring spirit, assisted by strong natural talents, obtained the crown. At first, indeed, he had only fifty soldiers, who were of intrepid courage; but their number soon increased to a numerous army, and he carried on his conquests with great celerity and uninterrupted success: so that in a few years he subdued all the petty princes, took their cities and castles, seated himself on the imperial throne, and the dairi, or ecclesiastical emperor, was compelled to yield him the entire possession of the secular government; while he, sensible how dangerous the attempt would be to combat those deeply-rooted prejudices which both the military and the people at large cherished in favour of their ancient monarchs and high priests, readily acknowledged him to be supreme in spirituals, and to enjoy those high honours and prerogatives which had ever been inseparable from his office. To reduce the pride of the nobility, and hold them in subjection, he obliged them to bring their wives and families to his court at Jedo, where they were to remain as hostages of their fidelity whilst they resided on their governments, and they themselves were required to attend him six

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months

months in the year, and annually to renew their oath of fidelity.

This great revolution was completed in the year 1617. His son Tayckoffama was d' minor at the time of his father's death; he was murdered by the prince who had been appointed by Tackroy regent during the minority. By this murder the crown passed to the family of Jeassama, in which it still continues. Taico and his successors contented themselves with the title of cubo, which under the dairi was that of prime minister.

Incredible stories are told of the prowess of the Japanese. When the Tartars first invaded Japan, which is said to have been in the year 799, the whole force which embarked on the expedition was destroyed, not a man escaping. A still more surprising event is told in the Japanese history, when the Tartars again invaded Japan in 1281, having 240,000 men in arms, the whole of which force is said to have been extirpated. Dr. Thunberg asserts that the Japanese have never been subdued by any foreign power at any period of time. But to return to the reign of Taico, or Tackroy, after the revolution which he had effected.

The ambition of the princes of the empire being thus curbed, and their power broken, Taico proceeded to secure the new-modelled government from the seditious rage of the licentious vulgar by a new system of laws; which were perhaps the most severe that ever were enacted since the days

days of Draco, and like them may be said to be written with blood: for there is scarcely a crime that is not publicly punished with death; except the criminal be a prince, and then he has only the privilege of dispatching himself in private, which is commonly done by ripping up his own bowels. In this case the emperor sends his order by letter, which if not immediately complied with, the person is either put to the most excruciating tortures, or, if he be a prince of the royal blood, banished to some barren island, where he is perhaps forced to lead a life more severe and painful than death itself. But in other cases the criminal is no sooner found guilty than he is hurried to execution. Kempher asserts that a lie, or prevarication; theft, though of the slightest kind; a breach of the peace; a blow with a sword, even though sheathed in the scabbard; cheating, even at play; detraction, or any other injury done to a man's character, are all punished with death: for mere chastisements are seldom used but by the lords to their slaves. In some provinces fathers of families, except those of the lower rank, have power over the lives and limbs of their slaves, children, and domestics. But in crimes against the government, as, neglecting to obey the emperor's edicts, defrauding him in his revenue, counterfeiting the coin, setting a house on fire, robberies, burglaries, debauching a married woman, or ravishing an unmarried one; injustice or mal-administration in public officers, whether in gov-
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vernors,

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governors, judges, or magistrates, the punishment is not confined to the criminals, but inhumanly extended to his parents, brethren, children, and more distant relations; all of whom are put to death at the same hour, though at ever so great a distance from each other. This is done by respiteing the execution of those who are near, till the sentence can be conveyed by proper couriers to the other places; and then, on the appointed time, all are brought forth, and executed at mid-day; but the lives of the female relations are generally saved, and they are sold to slavery, for a longer or shorter term of years, according to the nearness of their relationship to the offender; except in cases of high-treason, where the wives and daughters are put to death. For thefts and robberies, the unhappy criminals are crucified with the head downward, and consigned to a longer or shorter torture, according to the degree of their criminality: so that in cases of aggravated guilt, they are left to hang on the cross till they expire, which in some instances is not in a shorter time than three or four days: but if the thief admits of a milder death, they are dispatched by a dagger, or by strangling. In cases of high-treason, not only all the relations, but the whole ward in which they live, undergo the same dreadful fate; the law supposing them to be worthy of death for suffering such enemies to society to live among them. This cruel punishment of the innocent is an effectual means of causing the criminal

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nal, when known, to be immediately discovered, since the informer not only saves himself, but his whole family.

These laws, contrary as they are to every sentiment of equity and humanity, are said to be still in force, and executed with the greatest rigour; but criminals, as soon as they find they are discovered, frequently commit an act of suicide, to escape the tortures which await them.

As a farther security to the new established government; and the safety of the empire, Taico enacted, that the empire should be rendered inaccessible for ever, and thoroughly purged from foreigners and foreign customs. No foreigners had so firm a footing in the empire as the Portuguese, who first discovered the country in the year 1543; when, induced by the prospect of gain, they made large settlements in Japan. Their foreign commodities, with the doctrine taught by the missionaries, by which it is said they gained over one-third of the people, and even several of the princes of the empire, and the marriages contracted between them and the new converts, so ingrafted them into the favour of the nation, that, flushed with their success, they projected a revolution in the government.

In the year 1582, several princes of the empire sent some of their nearest relations, with letters and presents, for the express purpose of paying homage, to Gregory XIII. who then filled the Papal chair.

A cir-

A circumstantial account of this embassy is given by Thuanus. *Lib. LXXXI. Sect. 25. Ed. Lond. 1733. Tom. IV.*

Two letters, written by the Portuguese, one of which was intercepted by the Dutch, laid open their treacherous designs. The Dutch, who were then at war with Portugal, seized this opportunity of discovering their treason, in hopes of gaining this profitable branch of trade to themselves. Other considerations concurred to excite in the Japanese an implacable hatred toward their European guests. Their priests could not, without the utmost discontent and resentment, see their old religion, with all its powerful attractives of profit and popular esteem, daily losing ground; and strong representations were made at court by one of the chief counsellors of state, who being met on the road by a Jesuit bishop, the haughty prelate refused to pay him the same deference and respect which he was accustomed to receive from the natives. The excessive profits the Portuguese received, and the immense treasures they sent out of the country, also alarmed the government, while the rapid progress made by the new religion, the union of the converts, and the hatred they bore to the gods and religion of the country, filled the emperor and his court with dreadful apprehensions.

Taico, the emperor, therefore began to put a stop to the increase of the Portuguese interest, and the propagation of their religion; he however made a

slow progress, and left the work to be finished by his successors, who placed him among the gods, by the name of the Second Fatzman, or Mars of the country. The Portuguese, with their clergy and Japanese kindred, were ordered to depart the country, under the penalty of suffering death by crucifixion; all the other Japanese were commanded to remain in the kingdom; those who were actually abroad were to return within a certain limited time, after which they should, if taken, be liable to the same punishment; and those who had embraced the new religion were commanded to forsake it. These orders were the beginning of a most dreadful persecution; for the new converts being unmoved by the weak reasons that were urged against their faith, the sword, the halter, the cross, and the flames, were barbarously and vainly made use of to compel them to retract their opinions and change their conduct, instead of argument to convince their understandings, and to render them sensible of their error. Yet death, in all these various forms, was far from shaking their fortitude; for they bravely sealed their faith with their blood, and shewed such amazing examples of constancy, that their enemies were filled with surprise and admiration. According to the letters of the Jesuits 20,570 persons suffered death for the faith of Christ in the year 1590 only. This cruel persecution, which exceeded every thing of the kind mentioned in history, lasted about forty years, when at last all the remains of Christianity in Japan

Japan were exterminated in one day; for upward of 37,000 Christians, being reduced to despair at beholding the insufferable torments endured by their brethren, took up arms, and got possession of the castle of Simabara, seated upon the sea-coast, with a firm resolution of defending their lives to the utmost extremity; but, after a siege of three months, the castle was taken, on the 12th of April, 1638, and all who remained alive were cruelly butchered. Thus was Christianity suppressed in the Japanese empire, by the extermination of the Christians, and that country rendered impassable to the natives, and inaccessible to foreigners. The Portuguese at Macao afterward send thither a splendid embassy; but although the law of nations, and the practice of every civilized community, in conformity to that law, render the persons of ambassadors inviolate, yet, in this instance, the ambassadors, and their whole retinue, to the number of 61 persons, were beheaded, by the special command of the emperor, except a few of their meanest servants, who were saved, that they might carry to their countrymen the tidings of this butchery.

The Dutch, allured by the advantageous trade of the Portuguese, first landed in Japan about the year 1600, where they met with all possible opposition, and every ill office, from their European rival in commerce. Portugal was then subject to the king of Spain, with whom the Dutch were at war; and this war was rekindled before the Dutch discovered the designs of the Portuguese against the govern-
ment

ment of Japan, and then they assisted the Japanese, as hath been already mentioned, in driving out their insidious rivals, and afterward in exterminating the Rōmish religion out of that empire. After these events, which, however unchristian, shewed them to be the friends, or at least the tools of the Japanese, they enjoyed considerable privileges; till, having built a factory and warehouse of hewn-stone, stronger, more lofty, and more extensive than the buildings of that country, while they were unloading one of their ships into their capacious warehouse, it is said, the bottom of a large box started, and, instead of merchandize, a brass mortar fell out. The Japanese government, ever watchful for the safety of the state, were alarmed, and the Dutch received immediate orders, under pain of death, to demolish all their buildings, and remove from the port of Firando, where they were then established, to the little island Desima; which may properly enough be called the Dutch prison in Japan.

Within the small compass of this island the Dutch are confined and guarded. Their ships, which annually put into the harbour, undergo a close examination by the Japanese, before they have leave to land their men, and to refresh them there during their stay, which is commonly two or three months. On their setting sail the Dutch resident, with seven or eight men, or more, if he thinks proper, remain on the island; where, to prevent a contraband trade, the Japanese not only take an exact inventory of all the

the goods and commodities, but secure them under their own locks and seals. Even the cloths and stuffs brought over for their own use, must be delivered into the custody of the ottona, till one of their own taylors cuts them out, allowing each as much cloth as will furnish a good suit.

After the departure of the ships, the Dutch resident sets out with a numerous retinue to pay his respects to the emperor, and make the usual annual presents; but they are attended with a train of guards and inspectors, as if they were the open enemies of the state. The resident and his companions appear before the emperor crawling on their hands and knees, and as they approach bow their heads to the floor, and then crawl backward. They are sometimes ordered to rise and dance for the diversion of the ladies of the court, and other spectators, who are concealed behind screens; and also to sing, to laugh, to converse, and exhibit various acts of buffoonery, to which they readily submit: such influence has the love of gold, that they pay an abject and servile obedience to all these ridiculous commands. However, in other respects, they are treated and entertained by the emperor and his court in a very obliging manner; and at their departure presented with silk gloves, in return for their presents to the emperor and great officers of state.

Upon a few other occasions they are also suffered to leave the island; but they can never do it without a numerous retinue of those who are to watch their conduct.

conduct; with this mortifying circumstance, that they are obliged, at a great expence, to pay those who guard them as prisoners.

The Dutch send but two ships annually, which are fitted out at Batavia, and are expected to arrive at Desima in the month of September, toward the latter end of the S. W. monsoon, which alone is proper for this navigation. The spy-guards, placed on the tops of the neighbouring mountains, no sooner discover with their glasses one of these ships steering toward the harbour, than they send notice of her approach to the governor of Nagasaki, when three persons of the factory are sent with the usual attendants to meet her about two miles without the harbour, to deliver to the captain the necessary instructions from the resident, or director of trade, with regard to his behaviour; and at the same time the interpreter and governor's deputies demand a list of the cargo and crew, with the letters on board, which last being carried to Nagasaki, are first examined by the governor, and then delivered to the director. The ship follows as soon as possible, and having saluted every imperial guard, casts anchor at about a musket-shot from the island. Two guard-boats immediately board her, and mount guard; while a number of officers also coming on board, demand all the guns, cutlasses, swords, and powder, which are taken away, and kept in a store-house built for that purpose, till their departure: but they do

do not now, as they did formerly, take away the rudder of the ship. The next day the commissioners of the governors, with their attendants of subordinate officers, interpreters, and soldiers, enter the ship, and take an exact view of all the people who belong to the Dutch on board, according to the list that had been given them, in which is set down every one's name, age, place of residence, and office.

• It has been confidently asserted, that the Dutch here deny that they are Christians; and as a proof of their not being of that religion, they, on their first landing, trample a crucifix under their feet: but Kæmpfer asserts, that this is an unjust calumny, and maintains that they freely own their being Christians; but justly maintain, that their sentiments are very different from those of the Portuguese. There is, however, a ceremony of this kind very strictly required to be performed by the natives of both sexes and all ages. At the beginning of the year, images about a foot high, cast of copper, representing the cross, and the Virgin Mary with her child, are brought forth in many parts of the empire, particularly at Nagasaki, where Christianity principally prevailed. On this occasion, every person, except the governor and his attendants, even the smallest child, must be present. Overseers are appointed at every place, and the inhabitants are collected together in certain houses; the name of every one being called over. Even children unable to walk have
• their

their feet placed upon the images; all others are required to pass over them from one side of the room to the other.

The time for unloading the ships being arrived, the water-gates of the island are opened in the presence of the commissioners appointed by the governors and their retinue, while every corner of the vessel is crowded with Japanese officers, to see that nothing be taken away privately. The goods are brought from the ships in small boats, and placed before the commissioners, who take an inventory of them in writing, compare them with the lists that have been given them, open a bale or two of each sort, and then order them to be locked up in the company's warehouses, till the time of sale. The chests of private persons are also examined; and if the owner does not immediately appear with the key, they proceed to open them with axes. No European coin, or any other foreign money, neither any thing that has the figure of a cross, saint, or beads, would be suffered to pass: for if any thing like these should be found, it would occasion as much consternation and apprehension among the Japanese, as if the well-being of the empire was at stake. Hence it is customary for the captain of every ship, upon drawing near the harbour, to oblige all on board to deliver their money, prayer-books, and other devotional or religious books, to him, that he may pack them up in an old cask, concealed from the natives.

All who are desirous to go on board, whether for their own private business, or on the company's concerns, are obliged to take out a pass-board from the commissioners at the water-gates, to those in the ship; and when any one returns, he must take another from the latter: by which means the number of people on board the ship or on shore is always known. A pass-board is a piece of wood, on one side of which is some writing, and on the other a stamp made by a hot iron.

Before the commissioners in the ship return at night with their retinue to Nagasaki, the cabin is sealed up in their presence, and all the Dutchmen carefully counted over to see that none be wanting, which would occasion great confusion. It once happened that a sailor fell overboard in the night unobserved, and at the review next morning he was missed. Suddenly all proceedings were stopped, and the fear lest it should be a Romish priest, who had made his escape into the country, filled the Japanese with such consternation, that all the officers appeared like men frantic; and some of the soldiers in the guardships, which always surround those of the Dutch, were already preparing to rip open their bellies, to prevent their being compelled, by an ignominious death, to atone for their neglect; when the man's body being seen floating in the sea, their fears were dissipated, and the fatal consequences which would otherwise have ensued were prevented.

When the ships are either loading or unloading, the water-gates are shut, by which means all communication is cut off between those who are on board, and those who remain on shore. The whole cargo of the ships being deposited in the warehouses, the goods are disposed of in the course of two or three days; and if any thing remains unsold, it is kept in the warehouses till the next year's sale.

The Dutch send to Japan raw silk from China, Tonquin, Bengal, and Persia; wove silks and other stuffs (provided they are not wrought with gold or silver) from the above-mentioned and some other countries; woollen cloth and stuffs from Europe, among which are English serges; brasil-wood; buffalo and deer skins, ray-skins, wax, and buffalo-horns, from Siam and Cambodia; cardowans and tanned hides from Persia and Bengal; pepper, powdered sugar, sugar-candy, cloves, and nutmegs, from Amboyna and Banda; white sandal from Timor; camphire from Borneo and Sumatra; quicksilver, saffron, and cinnabar, from Bengal; musk from Tonquin; gum-lacca from Siam; coral, amber, antimony, which they use in colouring their porcelain, and looking-glasses, from Europe; the looking-glasses they reduce to small pieces, and make of them perspective-glasses, spectacles, and magnifying-glasses: pickled mangoes and other pickled fruit, black lead and red pencils, sublimate mercury, files, needles, spectacles, large drinking-glasses of the

finest sort, counterfeit corals, strange birds, and other foreign curiosities, both natural and artificial.

In return, the Dutch bring from Japan a very great quantity of refined copper, some of a coarser sort; Japanese camphire, some hundred chests of china-waré; all sorts of japanned cabinets, boxes, chests, of drawers, and the like, the best that can be procured; umbrellas, skreens, and hanging-paper; rice, tea, pickled fruits, marmalades, and a great deal of gold, the coin of the country.

The Dutch once made vast profits by this trade; but the Japanese government has so lowered the prices of imported goods, and advanced the value of their own, that the merchants do not at present gain above one-third of their former profits.

The Chinese, to this day, carry on a commercial intercourse with the Japanese.

About the year 1663, the English attempted to open a traffic with Japan, but the Dutch, dreading such a rivalship, took the most effectual method to alienate the minds of the Japanese from these new European merchants, by informing them, that the king of that country, Charles II. had married a daughter of the king of Portugal. Since that time the English have entirely given up all trade directly with Japan.

In the third voyage of discovery by Captain Cook, in which he unfortunately perished, and his successor Captain Clerk died, Captain Gore became the conductor of the expedition. On his re-
turn.

turn home, he came within six or seven miles of the eastern coast of Japan, but the weather being tempestuous, the coast known only by a Dutch chart, published by Jansen in his Atlas, and Kämpfer having described it as the most dangerous coast in the world; the natives too being known to be abhorrent to strangers; he therefore did not think it prudent to attempt to land; the sails and cordage of the ships being also in a very decayed condition. Some Japanese vessels bore down toward the ships, one of which came within the distance of about half a mile. The narrative says, "It would have been easy to have spoken with this vessel, but as the manœuvres of the Japanese testified that they were much alarmed, Captain Gore was not willing to augment their terror, and concluding that he should have better opportunities of communication with these people, suffered them to go off without interruption." *Cook's Third Voyage*, III. 401. No such opportunity however presented itself whilst the ships continued on the coast.

Mons. Pages, who made the circuit of the globe in a very uncommon manner of travelling, relates, in the account which he has published of that voyage (Vol. I. p. 231, Lausanne Edition), that some time since [he travelled in the year 1761] the Manillans sent deputies and presents to Japan, with offers of friendship and proposals of forming a commercial intercourse, founded upon such principles as should be mutually beneficial. The Japanese received the

deputies very kindly, accepted their presents, and made them others in return of much higher value, but absolutely rejected all connections, whether commercial or political, however beneficial or alluring the terms might be.

Having now spoken of the nature of the foreign trade carried on at Japan, we shall resume the account of its interior history and government.

At present the emperors of Japan are as despotic as any of the dairi ever were. It has been already observed, that as the emperor has a great number of petty princes and nobles, who have absolute power in their several governments, the greatest care is taken to keep them in due subjection. Of these twenty-one bear the title of kings, six are princes, four are dukes, seventeen are counts, and forty-one are lords, or something equivalent to these dignities, beside a great number of noblemen of inferior rank. The emperor's council consists of the former, who are obliged to attend in their turns, and have always four of the kingly dignity at their head. The emperor's standing forces, including garrisons, &c. consist of 100,000 foot, and 20,000 horse; but in time of war each of the governors of the provinces is obliged to bring into the field a body of horse and foot completely armed, proportionable to the extent of his province, or to the pension he receives from the emperor; which, in the whole, amount to 368,000 foot, and 38,000 horse. Their weapons are fire-arms, javelins, bows and arrows, sabres and daggers.

The

The cavalry wear cuirasses, and the foot helmets, finely wrought.

From what has been before observed, the reader may form some idea of the numerous court of this monarch in his capital, since it must consist of one half of the princes and nobility of the empire, together with all their families, beside his own officers and guards, which generally amount to about 5 or 6,000 men. He has, as we have already observed, many palaces magnificently built and furnished, in which the royal apartments, halls of audience, &c. are enriched with every thing curious and costly in art or nature. The ceilings are generally plated with gold, finely wrought, and embellished with precious stones; and the beds, screens, and cabinets, with the gardens, walks, ponds, fountains, terraces, groves, and summer-houses, are answerable to the grandeur of the place. But of all the royal palaces, that of Jedo is the largest and noblest: the rest, though grand and sumptuous, are used as houses of pleasure, for his diversion in hunting, fishing, and other recreations.

To this time the emperors allow the dairi to be treated with the same profound veneration that was formerly paid him in ancient times: for though he has lost the greatest branch of his power, and is only head over all religious matters, while the emperor enjoys not only the imperial dignity, but the government both in civil and military affairs, yet he is allowed to preserve his pristine grandeur. He is not suffered to set his foot on the

ground, and wherever he goes, is carried on men's shoulders. He is kept so retired, that the sun is not thought worthy to shine on his head, or the wind to blow upon him. He never wears the same clothes above one day, or eats above once out of the same dishes, all the vessels and utensils of his table being new every day; but these, though very clean and neat, are made only of common clay, and are generally broken; for they imagine, that if any layman should presume to eat his food out of those sacred dishes, it would swell and inflame his mouth and throat. He is addressed in pompous titles little short of blasphemy; and all, except the emperor, when they speak to him in public, prostrate themselves flat on the ground; beside, as every thing belonging to his person is esteemed sacred, he never shaves his beard, cuts his hair, or pares his nails. He is chiefly served by his twelve wives, whom he marries with great solemnity; and, like the other monarchs of the east, keeps them as much as possible concealed. Upon the decease of the dairi, the ministry of that ecclesiastical court choose for his successor the next heir, without regard to age or sex; hence it has often happened, that a prince under age, or a young unmarried princess, has ascended the throne; and there are instances where the deceased dairi's relic has succeeded her husband.

The secular emperor now grants the necessary subsidies for the maintenance of the dairi and his ecclesiastical court. For this purpose the dairi is allowed the whole revenue of the city of Miaco; and that
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being insufficient to defray his expences, it has been agreed to make up the deficiencies out of the emperor's treasury: but these allowances are so small, and so indifferently paid, that the court cannot make the figure which it formerly did, when the dairi himself was master of the empire, and had all the revenues at his own disposal. It still, however, endeavours to keep up its former grandeur and magnificence; and this court may be truly said to be remarkable for a splendid poverty. The grandees run in debt; and the inferior officers and servants, whose salaries are far from being sufficient to maintain them, are compelled to work for their living: but though the revenues of the dairi are small in comparison of what they were formerly, yet, as he has the management of them, he takes care to provide whatever is necessary to maintain, as much as possible, his former splendour, luxury, and profusion; which he is in some measure enabled to do, by still enjoying the high privilege of bestowing titles of honour on the great men of the empire, their children and relations, which brings in vast treasures. Among his twelve wives, she who is the mother of the hereditary prince, or princess, has the title of empress: but it would take up too much room were we here to describe the pompous ceremonies observed in his marriages, upon the birth of an heir to the crown, and on choosing a nurse for the royal infant: these are so magnificent, that the welfare and happiness of the whole empire might be thought to depend on these events.

All who belong to the dairi's court are clothed after a particular manner, and their habits are very different from those of secular princes, whom they scorn and despise, as descending from a mean and unholy extraction. They wear long wide drawers, and a large gown with a sweeping train, which they trail after them on the ground. Their heads are covered with a black lickered cap, by the shape of which, among other marks of distinction, their degree of rank is known, as well as what post they enjoy. Some have a large band of black silk or crape sewed to their caps, which either hangs down behind their shoulders, or is tied up. Others have a kind of flap, like a fan, standing out before their eyes. Some have a sort of scarf hanging down before from their shoulders, the length of which differs according to the quality of the wearer: for it is the custom of this court, that nobody bows lower than just to touch the floor with the end of his scarf. The dress of the women of this court is also different from that of secular women; particularly the dairi's twelve wives, who, when full dressed, are so loaded with large wide gowns of silk, interwoven with flowers of gold and silver, that they are quite embarrassed in walking.

An application to different kinds of learning form the chief amusement of the dairi's court; and not only the courtiers, but many of the fair sex, have acquired great reputation by their poetical, historical, and other writings. All the almanacks were formerly made there; but though this is not

how the case, they must receive the approbation of the court. Here a taste for music prevails, and the women in particular play with great dexterity on all the musical instruments they are acquainted with; the young noblemen also divert themselves by riding, running races, dancing, and other exercises. The Japanese lay claim to the invention of gun-powder; they greatly excel the Chinese in the use of fire-arms, and are good engineers. Their ingenuity and skill are likewise eminently displayed in their fire-works.

When the dairi was sole master of the country, he honoured with his sacred presence whatever city he pleased; and it seldom happened that two succeeding emperors chose the same place of residence. The dairi's court is now fixed at Miaco, where he has a large and spacious palace, which is distinguished by a lofty and magnificent tower. His imperial consort lives with him in the same palace, and the palaces of his other wives are situated next to his. At a small distance are the houses of the lords whose offices require a constant and more immediate attendance on his person; there are also a number of other palaces and streets, divided among the officers belonging to the court according to their rank, all of which are separated from Miaco, and defended against sudden approach of an enemy by walls, gates, ditches, and ramparts. The secular monarch constantly keeps a strong guard of soldiers at the dairi's court, in appearance out of tenderness and care for the preservation and safety of his sacred person and family;

family; but, doubtless, with a view to prevent all attempts for the recovery of the supreme authority.

Every imperial city is committed to the care of two governors, Nagasaki alone has three. These have the command of the city by turns, each generally for the space of two years. When that time is expired, the presiding governor delivers up his power and his apartment in the palace to his successor, and immediately sets out for Jedo, to make the usual presents, and give an account of the most material transactions in his government. He continues at Jedo about six months, during which time he is permitted to live with his family: but as soon as he receives orders from the council of state to repair to his last government, or to any other, he must depart, leaving his wife and children at Jedo till his return, in a manner as hostages for his fidelity: nay, while he is in his government, he is to admit no woman within the space of his residence, on pain of incurring the imperial displeasure; the fatal consequences of which are no less than imprisonment, banishment, or death, with the entire ruin of his family; it being esteemed beneath the majesty of the emperor to inflict slighter punishments on the least disregard shewn to his commands. The salary of each governor is but small; but his perquisites are so considerable, that in a few years he might amass great estates, but for the presents which must be made to the emperor and the grantees of his court; and being obliged to keep up all that state and grandeur which is thought becoming the dignity of the,

the employment, and the majesty of the supreme head.

Under the imperial governors are four magistrates, and their deputies. These magistrates hold their office a year; but they are obliged daily to communicate to the governor every thing that comes before them; and in difficult cases, or where they cannot agree among themselves, to lay the cause before the emperor's bench or court of justice, or, with the consent of that court, to leave it to the determination of the governor in the last resort. All civil affairs are brought before this imperial court of judicature, which, having examined the parties and their witnesses, gives judgment according to the laws of the empire, and their imperial orders and proclamations. From this court there is no appeal; but those who have received sentence of death cannot be executed without a warrant signed by the council of state at Jedo, which council must be also consulted in all affairs of great moment.

The deputies of the magistrates are next to them in authority, but enjoy their posts for life. It is one branch of their office to compose differences of small consequence arising in that part of the town committed to their care.

Next to these are four officers, who enjoy their post only one year, and are appointed by the magistrates to make a faithful report in their name to the governor, of the daily transactions in the execution of their office; and being also a kind of representatives of the people, whose interest they are to promote.

mote at the governor's court, they have a small room assigned them in his palace, where two of them constantly attend till the governor is at leisure to receive the messages they are to deliver in the name of the magistrates, or the petitions they present to him in the name of private persons.

The police and regulations observed in every street, in order to keep a watchful eye over the conduct of the inhabitants, and to relieve the governors, magistrates, and other chief officers, in the discharge of their duty, are very strict. For these purposes the following officers are appointed for every street: the principal is the ottona, who gives the necessary orders in case of fire, sees that a regular watch be kept at night, and that the orders of the governors and magistrates be punctually executed. He keeps books, in which he registers marriages, the births of children, deaths, persons who travel, or remove out of the street; and the names, births, and trades, of such new inhabitants as settle in it. When slight differences arise between the inhabitants of his street, he summons the parties before him, and, in conjunction with the deputies of the magistrates, endeavours, if possible, to reconcile them. He punishes small crimes by seizing the criminals, and putting them in irons. He causes criminals to be taken up by his own people within his district, and confines them till he receives farther orders from the superior magistrates, before whom he lays all criminal affairs and cases of moment; and is himself answerable for what accidents happen within the street under his in-

selection: He is chosen by the inhabitants of that street from among themselves, each of them writing upon a piece of paper the name of the person who is the object of his choice, adding his own name and seal. The votes are all taken in, the papers opened, and the names of the two who have most votes are laid before the governor, with the petition of the inhabitants that he would be pleased to nominate one of them as *otona*.

Every *otona* has three deputies, who give him their advice and assistance in the execution of his office.

The inhabitants of every street are divided into companies, from each of which five men are selected; there are ten or fifteen companies in every street: but though these are termed companies of five, a few more of the neighbours are frequently added, so that they sometimes consist of ten or fifteen heads of families, all of whom must be the proprietors of the ground and houses in which they live; for those who have no houses of their own, notwithstanding their being inhabitants of the street, are not admitted into those corporations, but considered as tenants dependant on the landlords, and are therefore exempted from taxes and other burdens, except the night-watch and round, in which they are obliged to serve themselves, or to procure a substitute, it being a duty which all the inhabitants are required to observe in rotation. These tenants have no vote in the election of the officers of the street, nor any share in the public money.

money. Each of these little companies has one of its own body at their head, who is answerable for their actions; and if they be contrary to law, he shares with the rest of the members the penalty they are sentenced to undergo by the supreme magistrate.

There is likewise a secretary, or public notary, in every street, who writes and publishes the commands of the ottona to the inhabitants of the street, and gives passports, testimonials, and letters of dismissal. The next officer is the treasurer of the street, who keeps the public money, and from time to time accounts for it to the rest of the inhabitants, specifying the sums he has received and paid. The inhabitants serve this office each a year in turn. There is another officer, named "the messenger of the street," who is to give information of every death, or any occurrence that is thought worth noticing. He also delivers to the chief officers the petitions of the inhabitants of the street, collects the contribution money for the present which at certain times is made to the governors and chief magistrates, delivers the commands of the magistrates to the heads of the companies, and publishes them in the street.

If an inhabitant designs to remove from the house and street in which he lives to another, he must first apply to the ottona of the other street, and making him a present of a dish of fish, give him a petition, expressing his desire to be admitted among the inhabitants of that street. The ottona, upon this, makes inquiry

inquiry into his life, character, and conduct, and then sends his messenger of the street to every one of the inhabitants, desiring to know if they will consent to admit the petitioner as a neighbour; and if any one of the inhabitants opposes his admission, urging that he is a drunkard, quarrelsome, or addicted to any other irregularity, and that he will not be answerable for the consequences, it is sufficient to exclude him. But if he obtains all their consents, the petitioner must apply to the public notary of his former street for a certificate of his behaviour, and obtain a letter of admission, both signed by the ottona, and these must be carried by the street-messenger to the ottona of the street to which the petitioner intends to remove; upon which he receives him under his protection, and incorporates him among the inhabitants of his street. Meanwhile he is not answerable for the petitioner's behaviour before his delivery of those instruments; and should he be found guilty of any crime committed before that time, it would be laid to the charge of the street in which he formerly lived. After his being admitted among the inhabitants of the new street, and his name entered in the register-book, he solemnises his entry with a handsome dinner; which he gives either to the company of five, or, if he pleases, to the whole street. His greatest trouble, however, still remains, and that is selling his old house; for this cannot be done without the consent of all the inhabitants of the street, who often oppose it for upward

of a year, the buyer; for whose crimes they are for the future to suffer, not being sufficiently known, or not agreeable to them. Supposing all obstacle at length removed, the buyer is to pay an eighth part of the price into the public treasury of the street, five parts of which are to be equally distributed among the inhabitants, for the pains they have taken on account of the purchaser's admission, and the three remaining parts are allotted for a public dinner. This, however, is seldom given: but the new inhabitant has no sooner taken possession of his house, than all his neighbours come to wish him joy, and to offer him their services.

When an inhabitant of a street is accused of any misdemeanor, his case is laid before the street council, that is, the *ottona*, his three deputies, and the heads of the small companies; when, if the affair be too intricate for them to determine, they lay it before the council of the town; if they meet with the same difficulties, the *Nengiosi*, or four annual officers under the magistrates, are desired to confer upon the affair, assisted by some of the stewards of the governor's household, and if they find it necessary, to communicate it to the governor himself.

If quarrels or disputes arise in the street, either between the inhabitants or strangers, the next neighbours are obliged to part them; for if one should happen to be killed, though it were the aggressor, the other must inevitably suffer death, notwithstanding his alleging it was done in his own defence; and

he knows no other method of preventing the shame of a public execution, than by ripping up his own belly. Nor is his death thought a sufficient satisfaction to their laws: three of those families who live next to the place where the accident happened, are shut up in their houses for three, four, or more months, and rough boards nailed across their doors and windows, after they have prepared for this imprisonment by providing necessary provisions; and the rest of the inhabitants of the same street are sentenced to pass some days or months in hard labour upon the public works. These penalties are inflicted in proportion to their guilt, in not endeavouring to the utmost of their power to prevent the fatal consequences of such a quarrel. A like punishment, but greater in degree, is inflicted on the heads of the companies of five in that street where the crime was committed; and it is an high aggravation of their guilt and punishment, if they knew before-hand that the persons were of a quarrelsome disposition, or, in other cases, were inclined to the crime for which they suffer. The landlords, and also the masters of the criminals, partake of the punishment inflicted for the misdeemeanors of their lodgers and servants. Whoever draws his sword, though he does not hurt or even touch his enemy, must, if the fact be proved, suffer death. If an inhabitant flies from justice, the head of the company of five to which he belongs must pursue him, or hire people to follow him, till

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he be found, and delivered up to the civil magistrate, under pain of corporal punishment.

RELIGION OF THE JAPANESE.] Their religion is in general the grossest heathenism and idolatry; but religious liberty, so far as it has no interference with the interest of the secular government, or does not affect the peace and tranquillity of the empire, has always been allowed in Japan: hence foreign religions have been easily introduced, and propagated with success; there are therefore many religions in Japan, the principal of which are the three following:

- I. The Sinto, or ancient idol-worship of the Japanese.
- II. The Budso, or foreign idol-worship, introduced into Japan from the empire of China and the kingdom of Siam; and,
- III. The religion of their philosophers and moralists.

I. The religion of the Sintos deserves to be first spoken of, more on account of its antiquity, than for the number of its professors. These have some obscure and imperfect notions of the immortality of the soul, and a future state of bliss or misery, and yet worship only those gods whom they believe are peculiarly concerned in the government of the world; for though they acknowledge a Supreme Being, whom they believe dwells in the highest heaven, and admit of some inferior gods,

whom

whom they place among the stars; yet they do not worship and adore them, nor have they any festival-days sacred to them, thinking that beings so much above mankind will concern themselves but little about human affairs. They, however, swear by these superior gods; but they worship and invoke those gods alone whom they believe to have the sovereign control over this world, its elements, productions, and animals; these they suppose will not only render them happy here, but, by interceding for them at the hour of death, may procure them a happy condition in the next state of existence, in reward of their proper conduct here. Hence their dairis, or ecclesiastical emperors, being esteemed lineally descended from the eldest and most favoured sons of these deities, the supposed heirs of their excellent qualities, are considered as the true and living images of their gods, and possessed of such an eminent degree of holiness, that none of the people dare presume to appear in their presence. In short, the whole system of the Sinto's divinity is a lame and ridiculous jumble of absurdities, and most probably would not have subsisted so long, had it not been so closely connected with those civil customs, in the observance of which this nation is scrupulously exact.

The temples of the Sintoists are exceedingly mean; within them is hung up white paper, cut into small pieces, as emblems of the purity of the place; and sometimes there is a large mirror in the

middle, that the worshippers, when they behold themselves, may consider, that as distinctly as all their bodily defects appear in the mirror, so conspicuously do the secret stains of their hearts appear before the eyes of the immortal gods. These temples are frequently without any visible idols of the gods to whom they are consecrated, they being locked up in a case at the upper end, and to this case the people bow. These temples are not attended by priests, but by seculars, who are, with very few exceptions, utterly ignorant of the principles of the religion they profess, and unacquainted with the history of the gods they worship. These, when they go abroad, are dressed, for distinction sake, in large gowns, commonly white, but sometimes yellow, and of other colours; occasionally under these they wear their common secular dress. They shave their beards; but let their hair grow, and wear a stiff, oblong, lackered cap, resembling in shape a ship, tied under their chins with twisted silk strings, terminated with tassels, which hang lower or higher according to the office or quality, or of the person who wears them, who is not obliged to bow lower to persons of superior rank than to make these tassels touch the floor. Their superiors have their hair twisted under black gauze or crape, in a very particular manner; and have their ears covered by a kind of flap, which stands out or hangs, according to the dignity or honourable titles conferred upon them by the daisi. They are under his direction in spiritual affairs; but

in temporals they, and all the other ecclesiastical persons in the empire, are under the command of two imperial judges, appointed by the secular emperor. Their haughtiness and pride exceed description; when they appear in a secular dress, they, like the nobles, wear two sabres, and think it becomes their station to shun all communication and intimacy with the common people.

The Sintoists do not adhere to the doctrine of the transmigration of souls; yet abstain from killing and eating those beasts that are of service to mankind, because they imagine that slaying them would be an act of cruelty and ingratitude. They believe that the soul, after quitting the body, is removed to the high subcelestial fields, seated just beneath the thirty-three heavens, the dwelling-places of their gods: that those who have led a good life find an immediate admission, while the souls of the wicked and the impious are denied entrance, and condemned to wander till they have expiated their crimes; but they do not believe in a hell or place of torment. One of the essential points of their religion is, that they ought to preserve an inward purity of heart, and to practise or abstain from whatever the dictates of reason, or the express command of the civil magistrate, direct or forbid. They have no formulary, either by divine or ecclesiastical authority, for regulating their social conduct. Hence it might be imagined, that they would indulge, without scruple, the gratification of their wishes and desires, unrestrained by the dread

of acting contrary to the will of the gods, and feeling no apprehensions of incurring their displeasure; but they have an active principle in their own breasts, which preserves them in the habitual exercise of virtuous and good actions, and restrains them from the practice of vice.

Another essential point of the Sinto's religion is a rigorous abstinence from whatever renders a man impure. This consists in abstaining from blood, from eating flesh, or being near a dead body; by which a person is for a time rendered unfit to go to the temples, to visit holy places, and to appear in the presence of the gods. Whoever is stained with his own or another's blood, is for seven days unfit to approach the holy places; and if, in building a temple, one of the workmen happens to receive a hurt, by which blood is drawn, he is from thenceforward incapacitated from working on that sacred building. But if the same accident should happen in building, or repairing any of the Sinto's temples at Isje, the temple itself must be pulled down and rebuilt. Whoever eats the flesh of any four-footed beast, deer only excepted, is unclean for thirty days: yet whoever eats of a wild or tame fowl, water-fowl, crane, or pheasant, is unclean only a Japanese hour, which is equal to two of ours. Whoever kills a beast, or is present at an execution, attends a dying person, or enters a house where a dead body lies, is unclean for that day; and the nearer a person is related to the deceased, so much the greater is the impurity. By the

The neglect of these precepts people are rendered guilty of external defilement, which they say is detected by the gods, and renders men unfit to approach their temples.

The other great points of their religion are, 1. A diligent observation of the solemn festivals, in honour of their gods, which are very numerous. 2. Pilgrimages to the holy place at Isje : that is, to the temple of Tensio Dai Sin, the greatest of all the gods of the Japanese. The last essential doctrine of their religion is, that they ought to chastise and mortify their bodies ; but few of them pay much regard to this precept.

The orthodox Sintoists go in pilgrimage to Isje once a year, or at least once in their lives ; for, beside their considering it as a duty, they imagine they shall reap great advantages from this journey, such as being absolved from all their sins, and receiving the assurance of immediate happiness after death, beside having in this life the possession of health, children ; riches, dignities, and other temporal blessings. To keep alive these sentiments in the minds of the superstitious vulgar, every pilgrim is, for a small consideration, presented by the canopies, or secular priests, with an instrument containing the remission of his sins, called an ofarrai. This pilgrimage is made at all times of the year, but chiefly in the three first months, March, April, and May, when the softness of the weather renders the journey very agreeable and pleasant. Every one is at liberty to travel in what manner he pleases ;

pleases; those who are able to do it at their own expence, go in sedans, or on horseback, with a retinue suitable to their rank; but the poor travel on foot, and are supported on their way by charitable contributions. Such carry upon their backs a straw mat, rolled up, which serves them for a bed, and have a staff in their hands. They have a vessel hanging to their girdle, out of which they drink, and wherein they receive the charity of the people. Generally their names, and the place whence they came, are written both upon this vessel and on their great hat made of split reeds, that in case of sudden death, or any other accident upon the road, it may be known who they are, and to whom they belong. Those who can afford it wear over their other clothes a short white coat, without sleeves, with their names stitched upon the breast and back. Incredible multitudes of these pilgrims crowd the roads. The very children, if apprehensive of a severe punishment for their faults, will run away from their parents, and go to Isje, to fetch an ofarrâ, which, upon their return, is deemed a sufficient expiation of their crimes, and a sure means of procuring a reconciliation. When a pilgrim is about to undertake this holy journey, he must religiously abstain from every impurity, particularly from fornication, and even lying with his own wife; though, at other times, the performance of matrimonial duties is held agreeable to the gods. After the pilgrim is set out on his journey, a rope, with a piece of white paper twisted round it, is hung over

over the door of the house, to guard such as are impure from the death of their parents or near relations from entering; it being firmly believed that such an intrusion would occasion the pilgrim's having strange uneasy dreams, or expose him to some dire misfortune.

The temple of Isje is seated on a large plain, and is a low, thatched, wooden building, as a monument of the simplicity and poverty of its original founders. In the middle of it is a mirror of polished metal, as an emblem of the all-seeing eye of the god to whom it is consecrated, and his knowledge of what passes in the inmost recesses of his worshipper's hearts; and some white paper is hung round the walls, to represent the purity of the place. This principal temple is surrounded by near an hundred small temples, built in honour of inferior gods; the greatest part of which are so low and small, that a man can scarcely stand upright in them; but each is attended by a canusi, or secular priest. Adjoining are the houses of the officiers of the temple, who style themselves "the messengers of the gods," and keep lodgings for the accommodation of pilgrims. At a small distance is a town that bears the same name with the temple, and is inhabited by inn-keepers, paper-makers, book-binders, cabinet-makers, joiners, and other workmen whose business depends on the holy trade carried on there.

On the pilgrim's arrival at Isje, he applies with great solemnity to one of the canusies, bowing, according

cording to the custom of the country, first his forehead touches the ground; upon which the canusi either conducts him and the other pilgrims, or commands his servants to conduct them, to the several temples, and to acquaint them with the names of the gods to whom they were built; which being done, he takes them before the chief temple, where, prostrating themselves on the ground, they address their supplication to Tensio Dai Sin; enumerate their wants and necessities, and pray for health, long life, happiness, riches, and the like. They are afterward entertained and lodged by the canusi in his own house, if they are unable to defray the expence of lodging at a public inn: they, however, generally make him a pretent in return for his civility, though it be procured by begging.

The pilgrim having performed all the acts of devotion which are enjoined him, the canusi presents him with an ofarraï, or indulgence. This is an oblong box, about a span and a half long, two inches broad, and an inch and a half high, full of small sticks, some of which are wrapped in pieces of white paper, to remind him that he must be pure and humble. *Dai Singu*, that is, the temple of the great god, printed in large characters, is pasted on the front of the box; and the name of the canusi who gave it, with the title, "Messenger of the gods," in small characters, is pasted on the opposite side. This they receive with great marks of respect and humility, and immediately tie it under their hats to preserve

protect it from the rain, wearing it just under their foreheads, and balancing it with another box, or bundle of straw, of about the same weight, tied behind; but those who travel on horseback have better conveniencies for keeping it. When they return home they take singular care of the ofarrai, as of an inestimable possession; and though its efficacy continues only a year, yet, after that is expired, they place it in one of their best rooms, on a shelf made for the purpose. In some places they keep the old ofarrais over the doors of their houses, within a small roof; but the poor, for want of a better place, keep them in hollow trees behind their houses. Large quantities of these ofarrais are annually sent by the canaries into all parts of the empire, to supply those who cannot or will not fetch them. The pedlars who carry those baubles, resort to the most populous towns toward New Year's-day, which is one of their solemn festivals, and sell at the same time new almanacks, which are permitted to be printed nowhere but at Isje.

The superstitious Japanese are equally inclined to make religious vows as to go in pilgrimage to places esteemed holy. Hence there are a great number of religious houses for both sexes, and of many different orders. Among these are the *Jammabges*, an order of hermits, who profess to renounce their temporal concerns for the sake of those that are spiritual and eternal: yet those who are able to live at their ease dwell in their own houses, while the poor stroll about the

the country, and subsist by charitable contributions. The Jammaboes have been separated into two sects; the *Tosanfa* and the *Fonsanfa*. Those who embrace the former class must, once a year, climb to the top of the mountain Fikoolan, a journey of no small difficulty and danger, on account not only of its height and steepness, but of the many precipices which are around it; and beside, it is imagined, that all who presume to ascend it with any degree of impurity, are punished for their impious rashness by being struck with madness. On the other hand, those who enter into the order of Fonsanfa, must, once a year, go in pilgrimage to the grave of their founder, at the top of an high mountain named Omine; where the air is said to be excessively cold, and the steepness and precipices make its ascent no less dangerous than that of the other. These suppose, that should any one undertake this journey without being sufficiently purified, he would be thrown down the horrid precipices and dashed to pieces, or at least would pay for his contempt of the anger of the gods by a lingering sickness, or some dreadful misfortune. They therefore qualify themselves by previous mortifications, abstaining from impure food, from lying with their wives, and from whatever may render them defiled. While they are upon their journey, they must live only upon the roots and plants they find on the mountain. If they return safe home, every one goes to the general of his order, who resides at Miaco, and makes him a small

an annual present of money, which the poor procure by begging; and in return they receive from him a more honourable title, which occasions some alteration in their dress, and increases the respect shewn them by their brethren of the same order. Thus ambition is far from being banished from these religious communities.

These hermits are said to be very much degenerated from the austerity of their ancestors, who, in imitation of the example set them by their founder, and pursuant to the rules he laid down, subsisted entirely upon plants and roots, exposing themselves to severe mortifications, to fasting, bathing in cold water, and wandering through woods and forests, desert and uninhabited places. They have also deviated much from the simplicity of their religion, and have admitted the worship of such foreign idols as they imagine have the greatest influence on the occurrences of life. They also now pretend to be well versed in magical arts, and that, by certain mystical ceremonies, words, and charms, they can prevail on all the gods of the country, as well of the Sintoists as those of the Budsoists, to drive out evil spirits, to assist them in living into secrets, recovering stolen goods, and in finding out thieves; in foretelling future events, explaining dreams, in curing desperate diseases, and in finding out the guilt and innocence of persons accused of crimes.

Among the religious societies established in Japan, we shall only mention that of the *Blind*; which forms
a very

a very singular, as well as a very ancient numerous body, composed of persons of all ranks. Originally these formed but one society; but they are now divided into the *Blind Busetz*, and the *Blind Fekies*. The *Blind Busetz* owe their origin to Senmimar, one of the younger sons of the Emperor Jengion. He was a youth of incomparable beauty, and admired by all that approached him. He particularly captivated the heart of a princess of the royal blood, whilst her beauty and virtues made the strongest impression upon him. The happy lovers had for some time enjoyed all the felicity that arises from a mutual passion, when the death of the fair princess deprived the enamoured survivor of all comfort, and soon, through excess of grief, he lost his sight. Upon this, to perpetuate her memory, and his deeply rooted sorrow, he, with his father's consent, erected a society, into which none were admitted but those who were blind by birth or accident. This society became highly respectable: for some centuries it continued united in one body, till the *Blind Fekies* springing up, and many of the great men of the empire, who had lost their sight, voluntarily entering into it, the former were reduced, and confined to ecclesiastics.

The *Blind Fekies* owe their origin to the civil wars between two powerful factions, the *Fekies* and *Gendzies*, who long contended for the empire. The cause of Feki, and his adherents, at length appearing more just to the reigning dairi than that of *Gendzi*,

Gendzi, ne' resolved to support it, which he did so effectually, that Gendzi and his party were defeated, and almost destroyed. But, as success is often followed by pride and insolence, the victorious Feki, forgetting the obligations he lay under to the dairi, treated him with such insolence and ingratitude, that he resolved to espouse the interest of Gendzi and his adherents, to whom he promised every assistance, if they would again assemble and take up arms against Feki. This entirely changed the aspect of affairs; a decisive battle was fought, in which the Gendzi were victorious, and Feki himself was slain. Among those who escaped with their lives was Kakekigo, a general famed for his valour and amazing strength, who embarked in a small boat. Jeritomo, general of the Gendzies, a very intrepid warrior, sensible of the consequence of securing the person of Kakekigo, without which he considered his victory as incomplete, caused him to be pursued, and he was at length taken. When Kakekigo was brought before Jeritomo, the latter treated him with all the respect due to his rank and character, and gave him such liberty that he several times escaped, but was as often retaken. Though he was his enemy and prisoner, Jeritomo was so far from putting him to death, that he generously resolved to purchase his friendship and affection at any price. But one day, when he was earnestly pressing him to enter into his service upon any terms he should propose, the captive general boldly replied, " I was once a faithful servant to a

kind master, and now he is dead no other than I boast of my faith and friendship. Thou, I own, hast laid me under great obligations, and to thy clemency I owe even my life. Yet such is my misfortune, that I cannot fix these eyes on thee, without resolving to revenge him by taking off thy head. These therefore, these prompters to mischief, I will offer to thee, as the only acknowledgment for thy generous behaviour which my unhappy condition allows me to render thee." This said, with an undaunted courage, equal to that of the brave Roman, who, in the sight of Porfenna, burnt his right hand on the altar, he plucked out both his eyes, and on a plate presented them to Jeritomo, who, astonished at such magnanimity and amazing resolution, gave him his liberty; upon which he retired into the province of Fingo, where he learned to play upon the bywa, a musical instrument used in Japan, and founded this society of the Blind Feki, of which he himself was the head. They are since become very numerous, and are composed of persons of all ranks: but none of them live upon charity; all applying, according to their several capacities, to such different professions as they are not excluded from by the loss of sight. Many are musicians, and employed at the courts of princes and great men, and also in public solemnities, processions, festivals, and weddings. They are dispersed through the empire; but their general residence is at Miaco, and has a pension from the dairi. He is assisted by ten council, who also reside in the same

same city; of this council he is the eldest, and all of them have the power of life and death, with this restriction, that no person can be executed unless the sentence be signed by the principal judge of Miaco. This council appoint their inferior officers, who reside each in his province, and are there what the general is with respect to the whole society: and these also have officers under them:

II. The Budo, or foreign pagan-worship introduced into Japan, probably owes its origin to Budha, whom the Brahmins of India believe to be Wishtnu, their deity, who, they say, made his ninth appearance in the world under the form of a man of that name. The Chinese and Japanese call him Buds and Siaka, which names indeed at length became a common epithet for all gods and idols in general brought from foreign countries, and sometimes they were given to the pretended saints who preached these new doctrines.

The most essential points of this religion are, that the souls of men and animals are immortal, and both of the same substance, differing only according to the bodies in which they are placed; and that after the souls of mankind have left their bodies, they shall be rewarded or punished according to their behaviour in this life, by being introduced to a state of happiness or misery. This state of happiness they call a place of eternal pleasures; and say, that as the gods differ in their nature, and the souls of men in virtue, so also do the degrees of pleasure in the state of bliss,

in order that every one may be rewarded according to his deserts : yet they consider the whole place as so entirely filled with felicity, that each happy inhabitant thinks his portion best, and is so far from envying the superior happiness of others, that all his wishes are confined to having his own happiness rendered perpetual. Their god Amida is the sovereign commander of these blissful regions, and is considered as the patron and protector of human souls ; but more particularly as the god and father of those who are happily removed to a state of felicity. These maintain, that leading a virtuous life, and doing nothing contrary to the five commandments, is the only way to become agreeable to Amida, and to render themselves worthy of eternal happiness.

On the other hand, all persons, whether priests or laymen, who, by their sinful lives and vicious actions, have rendered themselves unworthy of the pleasures prepared for the virtuous, are, after death, sent to a place of misery, there to be confined and tormented during a certain indefinite time, where every one is to be punished according to the nature and number of his crimes, the number of years he lived upon earth, his station there, and his opportunities for becoming good and virtuous. To Jemma, who is the severe judge of this place of misery, the vicious actions of mankind appear with all their aggravating circumstances, by means of a large mirror, called “ the *mirror of knowledge*,” which is placed before

before him. Yet the miseries of the unhappy souls confined to these gloomy prisons, ~~they~~ imagine, may be greatly alleviated by the good actions and virtuous lives of their family, their friends, and relations, whom they left behind; but nothing, they are taught, is so conducive to this desirable end, as the prayers and offerings of the priests to the great and good Amida, who can prevail on the almost inexorable judge to treat the imprisoned souls with somewhat less severity than their crimes deserve, and to send them speedily again into the world. For when they have been confined in these infernal prisons a time sufficient to expiate their crimes, they are sentenced by Jemma to return to this earth, and animate those creatures whose nature is most nearly allied to their former sinful inclinations; as, for instance, toads, serpents, insects, four-footed beasts, birds, and fishes. From the vilest of these, transmigrating into others and nobler, they at last are suffered again to enter human bodies, and thus have it in their power, either by their virtue and piety, to obtain an uninterrupted state of felicity, or, by a new course of vices, once more to expose themselves to all the miseries of confinement in a place of torment, succeeded by a new unhappy transmigration.

The five commandments of the law of Buds, or Siaka, which are the standing rule of the life and behaviour of all his faithful followers, are, 1. Not to kill any thing that has life. 2. Not to steal.

3. Not to commit fornication. 4. To avoid lies, and all falsehood. and, 5. Not to drink strong liquors; which last Siaka very strongly enjoins upon his disciples.

Beside these chief and general commandments, there are ten counsels or admonitions, which are only these five laws amplified, and applied to more particular actions, all tending to a stricter observance of virtue. A still farther subdivision hath been made of these laws into five hundred counsels and admonitions, in which are specified, with the utmost exactness, whatever, according to their notions, has the least tendency to virtue and vice. But the number of these admonitions being so very great, it is not surprising that those who are distinguished for observing them are very few; the rather, as they tend to such a thorough mortification of their bodies, as to measure and prescribe the minutest part of their diet, and scarcely to allow them the food necessary to support life.

Of the followers of Siaka there are several sects, all of which have their temples, their convents, and their priests: and of all their religious buildings in the country these temples, with their adjoining convents, are the most remarkable, as being far superior to all others, from their stately height, curious roofs, and numberless ornaments, which agreeably surprise the beholder; such as are built within cities or villages generally stand on a rising ground, and in the most conspicuous places. They are all most agreeably

ably situated: a fine view of the adjacent country, with the neighbourhood of a wood, a clear rivulet, and pleasant walks, being essential requisites in the site of these temples; for with such situations, they say, the gods are delighted; and the priests readily adopt the same opinion. Beautiful stair-cases of stone lead up to these structures, and several small temples, or chapels, are built within the court; these are adorned with gilt images, lackered columns, gates, and pillars, all very neat, but rather pretty than magnificent. Both the principal temple, and those smaller ones that are dependant on it, are built of the best cedars and firs; and in the midst of the large temple stands a fine altar, with one or more gilt idols upon it, and a beautiful candlestick with sweet-scented candles burning before it. These temples are frequently supported by a great number of pillars, and are so neatly adorned, that a man might fancy himself transported into a Romish church, did not the monstrous shape of the idols convince him of the contrary. One of these temples, erected at Miaco, is esteemed the most sumptuous in the empire. It is built with free-stone; the roof is bold and lofty. It stands on the top of a hill, and on each side of the ascent are lofty pillars of free-stone, ten paces distant from each other; and on the top of each a large lantern, which makes a fine appearance at night, being then lighted up. The temple itself is supported by a number of pillars, and

contains many idols, among which is one of gilt copper, of a prodigious size, seated in a chair eighty feet broad, and seventy feet in height. No less than fifteen men may stand on the head of this colossus, whose thumb is fourteen inches in circumference, and the body and limbs of this monstrous figure in proportion. Indeed the whole country abounds with idols, which are to be found not only in temples, but in public and private buildings, in streets, markets, and along the highways. People are, however, not required to prostrate themselves before them, or to pay them any other than voluntary respect.

III. The religion of the philosophers and moralists is very different from that of the two former; for they pay no regard to any of the forms of worship practised in the country. The supreme good, say they, consists in that pleasure and delight that arises from the steady practice of virtue: they maintain that men are obliged to be virtuous, because nature has endowed them with reason, that by living according to its dictates, they might shew their superiority to the irrational inhabitants of the earth. They do not admit of transmigration of souls, but believe that there is an universal soul diffused through all nature, which animates all things, and which re-assumes departed souls, as the sea does the rivers. This universal spirit they confound with the Supreme Being. These philosophers not only admit of self-murder, but consider it as an heroic and commendable action, when

when it is the only honourable means of avoiding a shameful death, or of escaping from the hands of a victorious enemy.

They conform to the general custom of the country in commemorating their deceased parents and relations, by placing all sorts of provisions, both raw and dressed, on a table provided for that purpose; and by monthly or anniversary dinners, to which are invited the family and friends of the deceased, who all appear in their best garments, having previously washed and purified themselves, for three days, during which they abstain from lying with their wives, and from every thing held to be impure.

They celebrate no other festivals, nor pay any respect to the gods of the country. Being formerly suspected of favouring the Christian religion, they are obliged to have each an idol, or at least the name of one, put up in a conspicuous and honourable place in their houses, with a flower-pot and censer before them; but in their public schools is hung up the picture of Confucius. This sect was formerly very numerous. Arts and sciences were cultivated among them, and the most enlightened part of the nation was of that profession; but the dreadful persecution of the Christians greatly weakened it, and it has been declining ever since: the extreme rigour of the imperial edicts makes people in general cautious even of reading their books, which were formerly the delight and admiration of the nation, and held in as great

great esteem as the writings of Socrates and Plato are in Europe.

The most copious account of the history, government, religion, manners, and customs of the Japanese, is given by Kæmpfer, who was a native of Magdeburg, and resided many years among the Japanese. The strict manner in which all intercourse with foreigners has been prohibited since his time, shut out every opportunity of acquiring information concerning the changes in manners and customs, as well as the public events which may have taken place in the course of near a century, until Dr. Thunberg, a Swede, in the years 1775 and 1776, obtained permission to travel with the Dutch ambassador from Nagasaki to Jedo, in quality of his physician; from the account which he has given of that journey we have obtained much information.

CHAP. II.

C H I N A.

THE extensive empire of China is situated in the finest part of Asia, on its eastern extremity: it has Tartary to the N.; Pegu, Siam, and Cochin-China, to the S.; Tibet to the W.; and the Pacific Ocean to the E. Its extent from N. to S. is about twenty-two degrees of latitude, being from 42° to 20° ; and from E. to W. about twenty degrees of longitude, that is from 101° to 121° . It is composed of sixteen very large provinces, fifteen of which are within the great wall, and one without. Of these provinces, Kian-ning or Nankin, Chang-tong or Shantung, Tche-kiang, and Fo-kien, are situated on the coasts of the Yellow Sea and the Eastern Ocean; Petcheli or Pekin, Chanfi or Kanfi, and Chenfi or Kenfi, extend along the side of the great wall that separates it from Tartary on the N.; Se-chuen and Yun-nan are on the borders of the W. and a part of the S.; and Quan-fi or Quansi, and Quangtoug or Canton, are on the remainder of the southern coast; while Honan, Hou-quang or Hu-quan, Koie-tchou or Quechue, and Kian-fi or Kiamsi, are situated in the midst, and surrounded by the other eleven: but Quan-tong or Lyau-tong, which

which is without the wall, is situated on the most northern coast of the Yellow Sea.

A considerable part of Eastern Tartary is likewise subject to the emperor. The little island of Maco or Macao, so useful for carrying on the European trade, is situated in a gulph into which the river Tae discharges its waters, on the banks of which river the city of Canton is situated. The large islands of Haynan and Formosa are partly under the dominion of the emperor.

The origin of the Chinese empire is extremely obscure. The common traditional history of that monarchy is undoubtedly false, as forty thousand years are supposed to have passed since its foundation; but, according to their regular history, in which the learned are pretty well agreed, the dynasties, or royal families of China, whence their kings have sprung, are supposed to have commenced about 2207 years before the Christian æra. Some have conjectured that Noah retired to China after the flood; others that some of his descendants, in the second or third generation, first settled there, whilst some learned men have supposed, particularly M. Huet, and M. de Guignes, that China was first peopled by colonies from Egypt, whilst others have strenuously maintained the contrary opinion, namely, that Egypt was peopled from China. Each of these conclusions are founded on the great conformity which appears between the Chinese and Egyptian customs. The foundation of the Chinese monarchy

is said to have been laid by Yu or Hya, whose virtue, wisdom, and power, added to his great age, induced the people to listen to him as to an oracle; and as he regulated all private, as well as political and religious affairs, the state soon became in a flourishing condition.

The first dynasty of kings in China, M. de Guignes supposes to have been a succession of the kings of Thebes in Egypt, but that no Egyptian colony settled in China until about the year 1122 before the Christian era. The same learned inquirer seems fully to have satisfied himself, that he had discovered a very striking conformity between the ancient Phœnician alphabet and that of the Chinese; he has likewise taken great pains to convince the world, that the hieroglyphics of the Egyptians are equally manifest in the Chinese writings. M. Deshautesfraye, another member of the Royal Academy of Belles Lettres at Paris, combats these opinions. In the Chinese dictionary, called Choveven, he can find no resemblance between the ancient Chinese radical characters and the Phœnician letters, either in their form or in their primordial signification. Nor is he more inclined to admit the similarity between the symbolic characters, or hieroglyphics; and he asks, if M. de Guignes' opinions are well founded, what is become of the Egyptian religion, which the priests carried into China? He likewise maintains, that the doctrine of the metempsychosis, which was adhered to by the ancient Egyptians, was not known in China.

China until the 65th year of the Christian æra, which he says ~~would~~ have been impossible to have happened, if an Egyptian colony had been established there more than a thousand years before that period.

Among the Chinese philosophers some have maintained the eternity of the world, and the boasted antiquity of the Chinese empire agrees very well with such an opinion, some computations carrying up their traditions of the first man, whom they call Poan-Kou, very near one hundred thousand years before the time of Confucius. This marvellous assumption, in itself so very incredible as to stand in need of the most satisfactory proof, is in fact very feebly supported, and blended with most absurd fictions; such as that in the reign of the emperor Yau the sun was observed not to set for ten days. Father Fouquet, bishop of Eleutheropolis, who examined this subject deeply, makes the result of his inquiries to be, that the æra of the Chinese history, so far as it is genuine, should commence about four hundred years before Christ; some, he says, who have investigated the matter, adduce strong reasons for bringing it still lower. It must be observed, however, that the period settled by the bishop involves in fable even the time of Confucius. He admits, indeed, that the Chinese nation may be nearly as old as the deluge; but then he contends that their history deserves very little credit any farther back than the period he assigns. See a Chronological Table, con-

sisting

fitting of three sheets, published at Rome in the year 1729.

Of the literature of China, the largest collection in Europe is preserved in the imperial academy at Petersburg; according to Mr. Coxe it is composed of 2800 different pieces; but in the late French king's library was deposited a copy of the great annals of the Chinese empire, which consists of near 700 volumes, of which prodigious work a chronological abridgment was published in China at the beginning of the present century, in one hundred volumes, from which, and from other materials, the Abbé Grosier has published in French the Annals of China, in twelve quarto volumes. The same laborious examiner and able writer has lately favoured the world with much valuable information concerning the Chinese, in a work entitled *Description Generale de la Chine*, from which the reader will find that we have frequently drawn our information.

Upon a close and impartial examination of the proofs on which the claim of the Chinese to an almost inconceivable antiquity is raised, nothing appears of sufficient force to invalidate the Mosaic account of the creation of the world and the Hebrew chronology, though some writers have urged them for that purpose. Having premised thus much, we shall proceed to give a short sketch of the history of China.

The form of government in China appears to have been invariably monarchical, and the succession generally

generally hereditary. Their history divides the emperors into twenty-two dynasties, or epochas of each imperial family that has successively filled the throne, according to the following table, taken from Du Halde.

Dynasties.	Emperors.	Years before Christ. At the beginning of each Dynasty.	Duration of each Dynasty.
I Hya - -	17	2207	441
II Shang or Ing	28	1766	644
III Cheou - -	35	1122	874
IV Tsin - -	4	248	42
V Han - -	25	206	426
		After Xt.	
VI Hau-han -	2	220	45
VII Tsin II. -	15	265	155
VIII Soum - -	8	420	59
IX Tsi - - -	5	479	23
X Lyang - - -	4	502	53
XI Chin - - -	5	555	35
XII Soui - - -	3	590	28
XIII Tang - -	20	618	289
XIV Heou-lyang	2	907	16
XV Heau-tang	4	923	13
XVI Heou-tsin -	2	936	11
XVII Heou-han -	2	947	4
XVIII Heou-chew	3	951	9
XIX Soum II. -	18	960	320
XX Youen - - -	9	1280	88
XXI Ming - - -	16	1368	277
XXII T'ing - -	2	1644	144
Emperors -	230	Years -	3,996

China is reported to have been first visited by an European in the thirteenth century, it being then discovered by Marco Paulo, a Venetian, who travelled thither over land. His account was afterward confirmed by the Portuguese, in the beginning of the sixteenth century, when the famous Albuquerque, in the reign of Emanuel, visited this remote coast. An earlier visit to China we shall however speak of in the sequel.

The history of China, till the middle of the last century, furnishes very few interesting events; it is little better than a dry narrative of the names and successions of their different emperors, and the frequent civil wars which arose between them and the petty princes. These occasioned no revolutions in the form of government, and furnished no important facts for the historian.

The Abbé Grosier, speaking of the great wall, which was built more than 2100 years since, to prevent the incursions of the Tartars, says, "This prodigious work effaces the most wonderful and gigantic performances of antiquity: the pyramids of Egypt are nothing in comparison with a wall that extends through three great provinces, and traverses an extent of country for five hundred leagues." The Abbé Raynal has the following remark on this erection. "The fortifying such a work proves that the empire must then have been prodigiously populous. If the Chinese had been men of courage they would themselves have attacked the roving tribes, or have kept them in awe by well disciplined armies: if they

had been skilled in the art of war, they would have known that ~~lines~~ continued through such an extent could not be defended in every part, and that if they were broken out in one place, all the fortification would become useless." *Hist. Politique liv. 7.* This wall is about 26 feet high; at its base it is about 20 feet thick; its breadth at top is about 15, where it is well paved, and has a parapet on each side. Towers are erected on it at about 100 yards distance, the number of which is computed at 45,000. The Tartars indeed seem to have been the only foreign enemy of the Chinese until about the thirteenth century; when the conquest of Japan was projected by some of their emperors, which occasioned frequent wars between the two states.

In 1127 a formidable invasion by the Tartars, under their king Ho-tsing, seemed to threaten the subversion of the Chinese empire. He penetrated as far as Nanking, which he made himself master of; but being vigorously attacked by the emperor's forces he retreated precipitately, after having reduced the royal palace there to ashes.

Toward the end of the thirteenth century the emperor Shi-tu undertook the conquest of Japan, for which purpose he transported thither an army of 100,000 men, but the design miscarried, and the whole armament being shipwrecked was totally lost; so that after a conflict continued for several years, he was at length obliged to abandon his enterprise, and retire into his own territories.

In 1628 Whay-Tsong, or Zun-Ching, mounted

the imperial throne of China; in him the Chinese race of emperors terminated, and the 22d dynasty began in the person of his successor Tsing, the Tartarian conqueror, who effected the greatest revolution in the empire of China that their annals record.

This event happened in the year 644, when the empire was torn and enfeebled by domestic dissensions. The discontented parties were then so numerous, that there were no less than eight different armies under the command of as many chiefs. In this season of general anarchy, the Tartars, who had become powerful by being incorporated with the Manchews, having ravaged the northern provinces of the empire with impunity, seized upon the capital in the year 1644, and soon after subjected the whole kingdom.

It is truly wonderful that so powerful an empire, almost equal to Europe in extent, and containing double its number of inhabitants (Osbeck computing the empire to contain fifty-eight millions of people from twenty to sixty years of age) should, in the course of a very few years, be brought under subjection to a foreign prince: but the moderation and wisdom of the Tartarian emperors effected as much as their arms; and the attachment which they shewed to the established laws and forms of government, and their impartiality in dispensing honours and emoluments, completed their conquest.

Thus the Chinese and Tartars were united into one nation; and by this union the latter seem rather to have submitted to the laws of the former, than to

have imposed any upon them. So that China may be said to have conquered its conqueror, even with more propriety than Greece is said to have done it to Rome.

Græcia capta ferum victorem cepit. HOR. Ep. I. 1. 156.

When conquer'd Greece brought in her captive
She triumph'd o'er her savage conquerors' hearts. FRANCIS.

In reality, Tartary became subject to China, which still holds the seat of empire, and has the supreme courts of justice. Thither flows all the wealth of the united kingdoms; and there all honours are conferred. Thus China has gained a great addition of strength from Tartary, and has now no room to fear. Their northern neighbours are under the same sovereign, who keeps them in such subjection, that they are no longer able to disturb the repose of the empire. Many of the petty kings of Tartary are no more than his viceroys, and the emperor has forts and garrisons throughout their whole country. In short, Tartary, instead of becoming the seat of government, is the place of banishment for the guilty, who are sent thither with their families to people those vast deserts, that their children who are born there may be accustomed to hardships, and lose the softness and pusillanimity of the Chinese, in the rougher temper and manners of the Tartars. But beneficial as this conquest of China by the Tartars has been to the empire, and notwithstanding it was effected in a short time, and without much bloodshed or commotion, yet whilst that event was taking

taking place, and immediately after it, great numbers of Chinese fled their country and settled in foreign parts, filling not only the Philippine but the Molucca and Sunda islands with an ingenious and industrious people, who brought with them, and diffused into all these countries, the skill of manufactures and the spirit of commerce: so that the conquest of China had nearly the same effect in the eastern part of Asia which the revocation of the edict of Nantz had in Europe. See Vol. I. page 195.

Kang-hi succeeded to the throne on the death of his father Tsing-te, who had reigned eighteen years. During sixty years, for so long he possessed the throne his kingdom flourished. On his death he was succeeded by his fourth son Yong-ching, in 1722, who lived to the year 1736. In 1731, a dreadful earthquake overthrew the city of Peking. The most remarkable event in this reign was the severity with which the Christians were treated, at the same time that the Jesuits received distinguishing marks of the royal favour.

Of the history of China, and the succession of emperors, for the last forty years, we have no certain accounts. The only Europeans who resort to Peking are the Russians, who carry on a very lucrative inland trade with the empire, particularly in furs, which are obtained from Kamtschatka, some islands between the continents of Asia and America, and the western coast of the latter continent. The English and Americans have of late years brought furs to Canton, which have found as good market there.

The reigning emperor of China was born on the 17th of September 1710; he is named, according to some writers, *Kam-bi*. When Lord Macartney was introduced in 1793, this prince had reigned 57 years.

GOVERNMENT.] The emperor is an absolute monarch, and the respect paid to him is a kind of adoration; his commands are as readily, and as strictly obeyed as if they came from heaven, nor are any admitted to speak to him but on their knees; not even his eldest brother, unless it be at his command. None except the lords who attend him are allowed to stand in his presence; but when they speak to him, they put only one knee to the ground.

The officers receive the same honours when they represent the emperor's person, and give his orders, either as mandarines of the presence, or as envoys. His governors also receive the same honours when they administer justice, because they are his representatives. Indeed such respect is paid to the emperor, that the princes of the blood, and all the grandees of the court, not only kneel before him, but before his chair, his throne, his clothes, and every thing made for his particular use.

Persons of the highest rank are not allowed to ride on horseback, or to pass in a chaise before the gates of his palace, but are obliged to alight at a place appointed for that purpose. If the emperor falls dangerously ill, it creates a general alarm; the mandarines assemble in one of the courts of the palace, and pass whole days and nights, without regard

gard to the inclemency of the air or the rigour of the season, imploring heaven on their bended knees to restore his health.

Yellow is the imperial colour, and none are allowed to wear it but the emperor and those who attend his person. His vest is adorned with dragons that have five claws: this is his coat of arms, which none else must bear. He has the disposal of the lives and fortunes of his subjects, nor can any criminal suffer death till he has confirmed the sentence.

The princes of the blood are allowed a palace and a court, and have a revenue agreeable to their rank. They are obliged to live at court, but have not the least degree of power. The emperor alone disposes of all places in the empire. He nominates the viceroys and governors, and displaces them at his pleasure. He chooses which of his sons he pleases for his successor; and if he prefers to the eldest one of more distinguished merit, he gains great popularity.

In order to preserve their reputation, the emperors are continually inquiring into the state of the empire, affecting a kind of paternal care for their people; particularly when any of the provinces are afflicted with calamities, the emperor shuts himself up in his palace, abstains from all pleasures, and publishes decrees to ease such provinces of their usual taxes.

The seals of the empire are important ensigns of the imperial authority, and are applied to authorize

all public acts. The emperor's seal is near eight inches square, and is a very fine Jasper; a precious stone so highly esteemed in China, that none but the emperor is allowed to use it. The honorary seals given to the princes of the blood are of gold; those of the viceroy, great mandarines, or magistrates of the first order, are of silver; while those of the inferior mandarines are either of brass or lead, and are larger or smaller, according to the dignity of those magistrates.

These seals are carried before the mandarines when they perform any ceremony, or visit persons to whom they would shew respect; they are then deposited in a gold box, placed upon a kind of litter, supported by two men, who walk before the chair of the mandarine.

The revenues of the emperor are amazingly great; but it is not easy to give an exact account of them, because the annual tribute is paid partly in money and partly in commodities; it particularly arises from the produce of the lands; as, rice, wheat, and millet from salt, silks; stuffs, linen, cotton, with innumerable other articles. All these, together with the customs and forfeited estates, annually amount to above twenty-one millions sterling. Osbeck says, that a poll-tax is levied on each person in China from the age of twenty to that of sixty, and he makes the number from whom it is collected to amount to fifty-eight millions.

The troops constantly kept in pay amount to above seven hundred thousand soldiers; these are stationed

stationed near the great wall, and other fortified places; a part of these also compose the emperor's guards, and those of the mandarines, whom they escort on their journeys, and at night keep watch about their barks or at their inns. Near five hundred and sixty-five thousand horses are likewise maintained to remount the cavalry; and for the use of the posts and couriers who convey the king's orders, and those of the tribunals, into the provinces.

The Abbé Grosier speaks very particularly concerning the military state of this empire. No troops he says are better paid, better clothed, or better armed: but they have less discipline than the European troops, and are totally deficient in courage. According to Raynal, the art of war is one of the arts in which the Chinese have made the least progress. "It is natural to imagine," continues that writer, "that a nation, whose whole conduct is influenced by ceremonies, precepts, and customs, either of private or public institution, should of course be pliant, moderate, and inclined to tranquillity and peace. The spirit of humanity which they imbibe in their tender years, makes them look with abhorrence on those sanguinary scenes of rapine and massacre, that are so familiar to nations where the hero and the warrior are formed. When a nation possesses the art of subduing its conquerors by its manners, it has no occasion to overcome its enemies by force of arms." *Hist. Pol. liv. I.* Grosier observes, that the military profession is here held in little estimation. The foot soldier is armed with a pike and
a sabre)

a sabre; some have firelocks, and others a bow and arrow. The arms of the cavalry consist of an helmet, a breast-plate, a lance, and a large sabre. The pay of a foot soldier is five sous of fine silver, or two pence English, and a measure of rice a day. The horsemen have ten sous and two measures of beans, beside arrears, which are paid every two months. The best soldiers of the empire are drawn from the three northern provinces. If the use of artillery was ever known in ancient times, it was totally lost at the commencement of the last century. Grosier says, there are still to be seen at Nanking three or four mortars, but not a single Chinese could be found to use them. In the year 1621 the king of Macao presented three pieces of cannon to the emperor, but it was necessary to send three men to manage them. Afterward Father Adam Schaal, a Jesuit missionary, first instructed the Chinese in the management of cannon; another Jesuit named Verbiest, superintended, by order of the emperor, a foundry, from which they were supplied with upward of three hundred pieces of artillery. The same father likewise instructed them in the art of fortification, and introduced among the Chinese the modern European rules of architecture. *Description General de la Chine par abbé Grosier.*

The emperor possesses the right of making peace and war, and he may conclude treaties upon what conditions he pleases, provided they are not dishonourable to the empire.

To check, however, in some measure, this unlimited

limited power, every mandarine is permitted to tell him his faults, provided it be done with all that submission and humility that is agreeable to the veneration and profound respect which is ever paid to him. Here the mandarine who observes any thing in the emperor's conduct inconsistent with the constitution of the empire, draws up a request, where, having expressed his profound respect for his sovereign, he most humbly beseeches him to reflect upon the ancient laws and good examples of the great princes his predecessors, and then takes notice in what instances he apprehends the emperor has deviated from them. This request lies upon a table among many other petitions that are daily presented, and which the emperor is obliged to read. If upon this he does not change his conduct, he is again admonished as often as the mandarine's zeal and courage will permit him to do it; for they cannot, without great danger, in this manner expose themselves to his resentment.

But the manner in which their histories are written, is alone sufficient to keep within bounds any prince who has the least regard for posthumous fame. A certain number of men, who are chosen on account of their learning and impartiality, remark, with all possible exactness, not only all the prince's actions, but even his words; and each of these persons takes minutes of everything that passes, without communicating his observations to the rest, and puts the papers, containing

ing his remarks, through a chink, into an office set apart for that purpose.

Thus they set down every thing that occurs in each reign; but that neither fear on the one hand, nor hope on the other, may bias them to be partial in the account they give of the emperor, this office is never opened during the prince's life, or while any of his family sit on the throne. When the crown passes into another line, or *dynasty*, all these loose memoirs are gathered together, and after being compared, they form the materials which compose the history of that emperor: if he has acted wisely, he is proposed as an example to posterity; or if he has been negligent of his duty, and acted inconsistently with the good of the people, he is held up to public censure.

Here are two sovereign councils; one, called the extraordinary council, which is composed of princes of the blood; the other, called the council in ordinary, has, beside the princes, several ministers of state named *colaos*, who examine all state-affairs, and make their report to the emperor, who gives directions accordingly.

The pomp with which he goes to make his offerings in the temple of Tien is very extraordinary. The procession begins with twenty-four drums ranked in two files, and twenty-four trumpets formed of a wood greatly esteemed by the Chinese. After them follow twenty-four men in a line, armed with red
staves

staves seven or eight feet long, varnished and adorned with gilt foliages. Next to these are a hundred soldiers carrying halberds, the iron part of which terminates in a crescent. Then follow an hundred men with red maces ornamented with flowers, and gilt at the end. Then advance four hundred very fine lanterns; four hundred flambeaux, consisting of wood which burns a long time, and yields a great light; two hundred men with spears, some adorned with tufts of silk of various colours, others with the tails of foxes, leopards, and other animals; twenty-four banners, on which are painted the signs of the zodiac, which the Chinese divide into twelve parts; fifty-six other banners, whereon are represented the fifty-six constellations, to which the Chinese reduce all the stars; two hundred fans, on which are painted various figures of dragons, birds, and other animals; these are supported by long gilt sticks: twenty-four umbrellas richly adorned, and a beaufet supported by the officers of the kitchen, and furnished with gold utensils, such as ewers, basins, &c. Then appears the emperor on horseback, richly dressed, and on each side is held a magnificent umbrella, large enough to shade both him and his horse: he is surrounded with ten led horses; these are always white, with the saddles and bridles enriched with gold and jewels; and also by a hundred spearmen, and pages of the bed-chamber.

After them the princes of the blood, the reguloes, the chief mandarines, and the lords of the court, ap-

pear

appear in the same order, and in their proper habits, together with five hundred young gentlemen belonging to the palace richly clad, followed by a thousand footmen in red gowns bordered with flowers, and stars of gold and silver; immediately after thirty-six men carry an open chair, followed by another that is much larger and close, supported by a hundred and twenty chairmen; then appear four large waggons, two of which are drawn by elephants, and two by horses covered with embroidered housings: every chariot and chair is followed by a company of fifty men to guard it. This procession is closed by two thousand mandarines of letters, and two thousand mandarines of arms, or officers of war, richly dressed in their proper habits. The same order is always invariably observed.

NOBILITY.] None but those who belong to the reigning family have any title of distinction; these possess the rank of princes, in whose favour five honorary degrees of nobility are established, much like those of dukes, marquisses, earls, viscounts, and barons, in Europe. These titles are granted to the children of the emperor, and to those whom he gives his daughters in marriage; who have revenues assigned them equal to their dignity, but not the least power: When the founder of the present Tartarian family was settled on the throne, he conferred on his brothers, who were numerous, and had contributed by their valour to the conquest of many countries, several titles of honour, to which the Europeans have

have given the appellation of reguloes, or princes of the first, second, and third rank, and it was then determined, that from among the children of every regulo one should be chosen to succeed his father in the same dignity.

The emperor also creates others of an inferior sort, which are bestowed on such of the other children as are most worthy. But though those of the fourth and fifth ranks are above the greatest mandarine in the empire, they have nothing to distinguish themselves from the mandarines, either in their habits or equipage, except their wearing the yellow girdle, which is common to all the princes of the blood, as well those that possess dignities as those who have none; but the latter hide it, and are ashamed to let it be seen, when their circumstances will not permit them to have an equipage suitable to their birth.

These princes of the royal blood are allowed a palace and a court, with officers, and a revenue suitable to their rank; but have not the least authority over the people. All the princes live at court, and have houses and lands, beside the revenue they receive from the emperor.

But the family esteemed the most noble in all China is that of the celebrated Confucius, of whom we shall give some account in treating of the religion of the Chinese. The honours conferred on that great man have been continued in a direct line for more than ~~two~~ thousand years in the person and descendants

scendants of one of his nephews, who is called "The nephew of the Great or Wise Man."

The emperor sometimes bestows titles of honour upon persons of distinguished merit, and gives them for five, six, or more generations, in proportion to the services they have done the public. Sometimes, when a person has distinguished himself in an extraordinary manner, the emperor not only bestows on him these titles, but by distinct patents extends them to the father and mother, the grandfather and the grandmother of him he has honoured; or rather he bestows upon each a particular title of honour in acknowledgment of the care they have taken in the education of a man of such distinguished merit. All his relations are so proud of the dignity, that they cause it to be written in several parts of their houses, and even upon the lanterns that are carried before them when they walk in the evening, which infallibly procures them great respect.

Except the family of Confucius, and the princes related to the reigning family, no person in China is noble, any farther than his merit is rewarded by the emperor; for every one is of the rank to which he adjudges him worthy, and all the rest are numbered among the general mass of the people.

The mandarines, who are the governors of provinces and cities, and, according to their different ranks, enjoy all the posts under the government, are chosen for their proficiency in learning. ~~But the~~ children even of those who enjoy the highest offices
under

under the emperor, are in danger of sinking to the rank of the vulgar, and are often obliged to follow the meanest professions. The son of a mandarine may succeed to his father's wealth, but not to his dignity or reputation: he must rise by the same steps as those by which his father rose; and by applying himself to study, be, like him, advanced on account of his learning.

There are at Peking six sovereign courts, whose authority extends over all the provinces of China, each of which has different matters under its jurisdiction.

The first supreme court, called "the tribunal of the mandarines," presides over all the mandarines, watches over their conduct, and examines their good and bad qualities, that they may be rewarded or degraded by the emperor according to their deserts.

The second, called "the royal treasury," has the care of the treasure, expences, and revenues of the emperor, and of raising the supplies.

The third supreme court, named "the tribunal of rights," hath the superintendance of all ceremonies, of arts and sciences, of the imperial music, and its officers, and examines those who are candidates for degrees.

The fourth supreme court, called "the tribunal of arms," has the management of the soldiery of the whole empire, and of all the fortresses, arsenals, and magazines of arms, and in general of every thing necessary for the defence and security of the empire.

To the fifth supreme court belongs the examination of criminals, in order to judge and sentence them as the laws require.

The sixth and last supreme court, called "the tribunal of public works," has the inspection of all public buildings, and the palaces of the emperor, princes of the blood, and viceroys. It has likewise the superintendence of the triumphal arches, towers, bridges, rivers, canals, lakes, streets, and highways.

Each of these courts is divided into several offices, the principal of which is managed by a president and two assistants, who have the final inspection of all that comes under the notice of that court; and the rest are under officers, consisting of a president and several counsellors, all subject to the president of the principal office.

As there might be reason to apprehend, that bodies invested with such power would gradually weaken the imperial authority, the laws have prevented this inconvenience, by making it necessary for each of these courts to have the assistance of another to put its decisions in execution; as, for instance, the army is subject to the fourth supreme court, which is that of war, but the payment of the troops belongs to the second; and the arms, tents, and waggons, come under the cognizance of the sixth court; so that no military enterprise can be put in execution without the concurrence of these different courts.

To prevent the unjust and iniquitous practices that might take place in any of these courts, there is an officer .

officer in each, who attends to all their proceedings, and, though he is not of the council, is present at all their assemblies. His office obliges him to give private information to the emperor of the faults committed by the mandarines, not only in the administration of public affairs, but in their private conduct: they even admonish the emperor himself when he stands in need of it. These public censors are extremely dreaded, and the very princes of the blood stand in awe of them.

The mandarines are nominated by the emperor, and consists of all on whom he bestows any authority in the provinces. They are governed by two general officers, on whom all the rest depend. One is the viceroy of a single province, and the other has two, and sometimes three, provinces subject to him. They are both at the head of a supreme tribunal in the province, where all important affairs are decided, and to them the emperor sends his orders, while they take care to transmit them to all the cities in their district.

The cities are of three different orders, and have also their governors and several mandarines who administer justice. There are likewise mandarines that have the care of the posts, with the royal inns and barks in their district. Others have the inspection of the army; others take care of the rivers: others oversee the repairing of the high roads, and the employment of others is to visit the sea-coasts. They have also power to punish criminals, and are a

kind of substitutes of the six supreme tribunals of the court.

All the mandarines are extremely fond of the ensigns of their office, by which they are distinguished not only from the common people, but from all others of the learned, especially those of an inferior rank. This mark of their dignity consists in a piece of square stuff, which they wear upon their breasts, and which is richly embroidered with a device peculiar to their office. Some have a dragon with four claws; others an eagle, or a sun; and the mandarines of arms bear lions, tygers, leopards, &c.

There is an absolute dependence between the several powers which govern the empire. The most inconsiderable mandarine regulates every thing within the extent of his district, but depends on other mandarines, whose power is greater, but are dependent on the general officers of every province, as these latter are on the tribunals of the imperial city, and the presidents of the supreme courts, who keep all other mandarines in awe, while they themselves tremble before the emperor, in whom resides the imperial power.

The ease with which a single mandarine governs the people is surprising: he only publishes his orders on a small piece of paper sealed with his seal, and fixed up in places where the streets cross, and he is instantly obeyed. This proceeds from the extraordinary veneration paid him by the people. He seldom appears in public without a majestic train; he
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is richly dressed, and is carried in summer by four men in an open gilded chair, which in winter is covered with silk, and is attended by all the officers of the tribunal, some carrying whips, others long staves, or iron chains, the noise of which makes the people tremble, for they are naturally timid, and know that they cannot escape correction if they venture to disobey his commands. Hence whenever he appears, the people in the streets shew their respect, not by bowing, which would be thought a culpable familiarity, but by retiring on one side, standing upright with their arms hanging down; and in this posture, which they esteem the most respectful, they continue till the mandarine has passed by.

Nothing can equal the ostentatious parade with which a viceroy appears in public; for as the Chinese are particularly distinguished by their love of shew, it is not very surprising that so great an officer should appear with all imaginable pomp.

As the mandarines of cities and towns are appointed to protect the people, they must always be ready to hear their complaints. In an urgent affair they go to the mandarine's palace, and beat upon a kind of kettle-drum, which is sometimes on the side of the hall of justice, but generally out of the palace, that the people may sound it either by night or day. At this signal the mandarine, however engaged, is obliged immediately to grant the audience that is demanded; but whoever gives an alarm, unless upon

some urgent or weighty matter, is sure to receive the bastinado.

One of the principal offices of the mandarines is to instruct the people as the representatives of the emperor, who is considered as their common father; and therefore, on the first and fifteenth of every month, they assemble the people, and give them a kind of sermon on all the social and relative duties.

To prevent commotions among the people when they groan under oppression, the least disturbance which happens in a province is imputed to the viceroy, and if it is not immediately appeased, he is inevitably removed from his office.

The laws prescribe, that no person shall enjoy the office of mandarine of the people, either in the city where he was born, or even in the province where his family has been used to reside; and generally he does not possess the same office many years in the same place before he is removed. By this means he cannot contract any friendship with the people of the country, so as to render him partial; and not being acquainted with the mandarines that govern with him, he has the less reason to shew them favour. If he receives an employment in a province joining to his own, he must live at least fifty leagues from it. This regulation is founded on the supposition that if he exercised an office in his own country, he might be troubled with the solicitations of his neighbours and friends, and would probably be biassed in his judgment, and do injustice to some persons; or might be influenced

influenced by a principle of revenge against those who had injured him or his relations.

This scrupulosity they carry so far, that they will not allow a son, a brother, or a nephew, to be a subordinate mandarine where his father, brother, or uncle, are superior mandarines, lest they should favour each other, and either tolerate or wink at their faults.

Every three years a general review is made of all the mandarines of the empire, when each superior mandarine inquires into the conduct of the inferior, and gives notes to every one containing praises or censures. For instance, the chief mandarine of a city of the third order has under him three or four petty mandarines, to whom he gives notes, and sends them to a mandarine of a city of the second order on whom he depends: the latter, who has under him several mandarines who govern cities of the third order, examines these notes, and either agrees to what is inserted, or adds other circumstances, according to his knowledge. When the mandarine of the city of the second order has received the notes from all the mandarines of the cities of the third order, he gives his note to them, and sends a catalogue of all the mandarines in his district to the general mandarines of the province, who reside at the capital. This catalogue passes through their hands to the viceroy's, who having examined it in private, and afterward with the four general mandarines, sends it to court

with his own remarks, that the chief tribunal may be fully acquainted with the conduct of all the mandarines of the empire, in order that they may be rewarded or punished according to their deserts.

In giving such notes, they write under the name and title of their mandarinat, that he is greedy of money, too severe in his punishments, or is too old to perform his office; or that he is proud, of a capricious temper, &c.

When all the notes are arrived at Peking, the chief tribunal examines them, and sends them back to the viceroy, after setting down the reward or punishment appointed for each mandarin. Those who have unfavourable notes are deprived of their offices, and those who are commended are raised to a superior mandarinat.

But as the general officers might be bribed by the governors of the cities, and thus connive at the injustice of those who oppress the people, the emperor from time to time sends inspectors into the provinces, who go into the cities and into the tribunals, while the mandarines give audience, and secretly inquire of the people how they behave in their offices; and if he finds any irregularity, he discovers the insigns of his dignity, declaring himself the emperor's envoy: he then immediately brings to trial the guilty mandarines, and punishes them as the laws require; or, if the injustice be not notorious, sends his informations to court, there to have the sentence pronounced.

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These inspectors of provinces are supposed to be possessed of the greatest integrity; yet as they may be tempted to enrich themselves at the expence of the guilty, whose injustice they may overlook, to keep them upon their guard, the emperor frequently visits some of his provinces in person, in order to hear the complaints of the people against their governors; and those visits are much aided by the mandarines.

In short nothing could exceed the order established by the Chinese law, if the mandarines strictly adhered to it; but this is far from being the case; for they are not very scrupulous in violating the laws of justice and humanity in order to serve their private interest. There are no artifices to which the inferior officers have not recourse to deceive the superior mandarines; and among the latter some endeavour to impose upon the supreme tribunals of the court, and even to mislead the emperor himself. Indeed they so artfully conceal their passions, and affect in their memorials such an air of disinterestedness, that it is very difficult for the prince to discover the true character of his servants under such specious blandishments.

Beside, as their salaries are not always sufficient to maintain their pomp and luxury, the acts of injustice they commit, provided they are secret, are attended with no hazard. Ministers of state and the chief presidents of the supreme courts sometimes privately extort money from the viceroys of provinces and those again, to indemnify themselves, oppress

press the subordinate officers, and these last reimburse themselves by their exactions upon the people. No crimes, when they are discovered, pass unpunished in China; the bastinado is the common punishment for slight faults, and the number of blows is proportioned to the nature of the offence: when these do not exceed twenty it is esteemed a fatherly correction, and is not infamous. The emperor sometimes commands it to be inflicted on great persons, and yet afterward behaves to them as he was wont.

A small transgression will incur this correction, as, foul language, or fighting with the fists; for if these things reach the mandarine's ears, he immediately causes the parties to be bastinadoed; which being done, they must kneel before him, bow their bodies three times to the earth, and thank him for the care he takes of their education.

This punishment is performed with a split bamboo, which is a wood that is hard, strong, and heavy: the lower part is as broad as a man's hand, and the upper smooth and small, that it may be easily managed. The criminal is laid down with his face to the ground, his drawers are pulled over his heels, and the stripes are given over his bare posteriors.

A mandarine may cause this punishment to be inflicted wherever he is; it is sufficient for one of the poor vulgar not to dismount from his horse when a mandarine passes by, or to cross the street in his presence, to receive five or six blows by his order, which is performed with such expedition, that it is often

often done before those who are present perceive any thing of the matter. Masters use the same correction to their scholars, fathers to their children, and noblemen to their domestics, only the battoon in such cases is less severe.

The wooden collar is a more infamous punishment than the bastinado. It is composed of two pieces of wood hollowed in the middle for the neck, and when fastened there, the person bearing it can neither see his feet nor put his hand to his mouth; so that his food must be given him by the hand of another. This unwieldy load he carries day and night: it is lighter or heavier according to the nature of the offence. Some of these collars weigh two hundred pounds, and some are three feet square, and five or six inches thick; the common sort weigh fifty or sixty pounds.

When these two pieces of wood are joined about the criminal's neck, in the presence of the mandarine, the executioner pastes on each side two long slips of paper, on which he fixes a seal, that the two pieces may not be separated without its being perceived: then the crime for which the punishment is inflicted, and the time it is to last, are written in large characters. For instance, if the culprit be a thief, a seditious person, a gamester, or a disturber of the peace of families, he must wear it three months. They are generally exposed in some public place; but the criminals find various ways to ease themselves; some walk in company with their relations and

and friends, who support the four corners that it may not gall their shoulders; others have a chair to support the four corners, and so sit tolerably easy; and some kneel down, and place one edge upon the ground.

At the expiration of the time of punishment, the criminal is brought back to the mandarine, who, having exhorted him to behave better for the future, releases him from the collar; and, to take his leave of him, orders him twenty strokes with the battoon; for the Chinese never inflict any punishment, except a pecuniary one, which is not preceded and followed by the bastinado.

There are some crimes for which the criminals are marked on the cheek with a Chinese character, signifying their offence. There are others for which they are sentenced to draw the imperial barks; and there are others for which they are condemned to banishment.

There are three ways of punishing with death, of which strangling is looked upon as most honourable: this is frequently done by a bow-string. In some places they put a cord of seven or eight feet long, with a running knot round the criminal's neck. Two servants belonging to the tribunal draw it hard at each end, then loose it a moment, and drawing it again the second time, dispatch the criminal.

Another kind of punishment is extremely cruel: this is inflicted on rebels and traitors, on a son who strikes his father, and on merciless robbers. It is called

called "cutting in ten thousand pieces." The executioner fastens the criminal to a post, then fleaving the skin off his head, pulls it over his eyes, and afterward mangles him by cutting pieces from all parts of his body; and when he is weary of this barbarous exercise, he delivers him to the cruelty of the populace.

The other punishment is beheading; which is inflicted for crimes of great enormity, as murder, and is looked upon as very shameful, because the head, which is the principal part of man, is separated from the body; and because in dying they do not preserve the human form as entire as it was when they received it from their parents. The party condemned to suffer this punishment, is not, on the day of execution, exposed on a scaffold, but being made to kneel in some public place, with his hands tied behind him, a person holds him so fast that he cannot move, while the executioner coming behind, takes off his head at one stroke, and at the same time lays him on his back with such dexterity, that not a drop of blood falls on his clothes, which on that occasion are generally better than ordinary: for his relations and friends, though ashamed to own him in those unhappy circumstances, usually send him new clothes, and cause provisions and drink to be offered him by the way.

The executioner is commonly a soldier; and his office is so far from being scandalous, that at Pekin he accompanies the criminal girt with a sash of yellow

low silk, and his cutlafs is wrapped in silk of the same colour, to shew that he is vested with the emperor's authority.

Those who suffer death by decapitation are also sentenced to be deprived of common burial, which in China is considered as dreadfully infamous; the executioner therefore, after having stripped the body, throws it into the next ditch.

If the criminal happens to have wealthy relations who regard him, they frequently buy the body at a great price from the executioner, and sew on the head again with abundance of lamentations.

The ordinary torture made use of in China to extort confession from persons accused of crimes is extremely painful, and is inflicted on the feet and hands: an instrument is applied to the feet which consists of three pieces of wood, one of which is fixed, and the other two move and turn upon it. The feet of the criminal being put in this machine are squeezed so violently, that the ankle bones are frequently flattened by the pressure. Between the criminal's fingers they also place pieces of wood, and tying them very hard with cords, leave him for some time in this torment.

RELIGION.] The religion of China is two-fold. One as ancient as the empire itself, and probably introduced by its founders: the other of much later date, and derived from India, not long after the birth of Christ. The latter has idols, temples, sacrifices, priests, monks, festivals, and many external

nal rites and ceremonies; the former is exempt from all these, and is, perhaps, as artless and simple as any religion that was ever taught in the world. It prescribes reverence to an invisible Being, residing in the visible heaven, and distributing thence happiness and misery among mankind; but it enjoins no particular worship to him: so that temples, priests, assemblies, sacrifices, and rites, are things entirely foreign to it. In this religion there is no term for God, and in an imperial edict, published in the year 1710, it is said, "It is not to the visible and material heaven that we offer our adoration, but to the Lord of heaven." The emperor alone, at certain times, offers a sacrifice to this powerful Being, in the name of his people. The emperor, who is sole pontiff, is likewise the only judge in religious matters.

The latter religion, or that idolatry which was introduced by *Fo*, or *Foe*, a celebrated Indian impostor, has many adherents among the lower ranks of people, but is only tolerated in the state. The wise men, and those of distinction, profess the ~~old~~ morality, which is the national religion, protected by the laws of the empire, and preached by the emperor himself.

This ancient religion maintained, that, as well for the preservation of order as to maintain purity of manners, those who command should imitate the conduct of Tien, in treating their inferiors as their children;

children; and those who obey ought to consider their superiors as their fathers.

The religion of China is comprehended in some ancient and valuable books, which they call "the Five Volumes;" it appears from one of these ancient books, that this Tien, the object of public worship, is the principle of all things, the father of the people, independent, almighty, omniscient; to whom the secrets of the heart are fully known, and who watches over the conduct of the universe.

Fohi, who was one of the heads of the colony which came to settle in this part of the east, and is acknowledged to be the founder of the Chinese monarchy, gave public marks of his profound veneration for the Supreme Being. Chinnong, Fohi's successor, added to these sacrifices two offerings at the equinoxes.

His successors, in general, followed his example; and it is asserted by the Chinese writers, that for the space of two thousand years the nation acknowledged, revered, and honoured with sacrifices the Supreme Being and Sovereign Lord of the universe.

At length the troubles which arose in the empire, the civil wars which distracted it, and the corruption of manners which became almost universal, had very nearly suppressed the ancient doctrine, when Confucius arose and revived it.

This great philosopher made a collection of the
most

most excellent maxims of the ancients, which he adhered to himself, and taught to the people. He preached up a severe morality, and endeavoured to prevail upon men to condemn riches and worldly pleasures, and to esteem temperance, justice, and other virtues: he strove to inspire them with such magnanimity as to be proof against the frowns of princes, and with a sincerity incapable of the least disguise. The thing most to be admired is, that he preached more by his example than by his words, whence he reaped considerable fruits from his labours; kings were governed by his counsels, and the people revered him as a saint. Yet he frequently met with reverses of fortune, which obliged him to travel from province to province, and he was often reduced to such extremities, as to be in danger of perishing by hunger.

He sent six hundred of his disciples into different places of the empire to reform the manners of the people, and used frequently to say, "It is in the West where the true saint is found." This sentence was so imprinted in the minds of the learned, that sixty-four years after the birth of Christ, the emperor Ming-ti sent ambassadors into the West, with strict orders to continue their journey till they should meet this saint. Other authors assert, that he was induced to send these ambassadors, from a dream which reminded him of this sentence of Confucius.

This philosopher seems to have carried the religion of nature as far as unassisted reason could pos-

sibly reach. After his death he was revered by the greatest part of the nation as an eminent saint, as a messenger inspired and sent by heaven to instruct mankind, and almost as a god; but interpreters soon arose, who explained away the simplicity and purity of his doctrine, and, by introducing idle distinctions and superstitious observances, by perverting and wresting his meaning as well as by giving false interpretations of the ancient books, they destroyed the worship due to the Supreme Being; and formed a system of religion and philosophy equally impious and absurd. This is now the religion of the learned, who, while they pay homage to the memory of Confucius, are far from following his precepts or imitating the innocence and sanctity of his life. Yet though the purity of doctrine is not retained, the memory of their great teacher is still held in the highest reverence by the Chinese, and the emperors have even ordered that the literati should annually celebrate a festival to his honour.

The author of the sect of Taoïse was born two years before Confucius: his name was Laokiun, and his disciples pretend, that he did not come into the world till forty years after his conception. His books, which are still extant, are supposed to be much disguised by his followers; though there are still many sentiments worthy of a moral philosopher.

Of the sect of Fô, or Foë, the origin is as follows: The ambassadors sent to the west, as already mentioned, having transported the idol Fô into China,
and

And with it a corruption of the fables with which the Indian books are filled, that religion spread through the empire.

Fo lived and died in India, where he was first worshipped as a god, and his doctrines spread through all the East. The Chinese as well as Japanese call his priests *Bonzes*; the Tartars, *Lamas*; the Siamese, *Talapins*. His disciples did not fail to disperse a great number of fables after his death, and easily persuaded the simple and credulous, that their master had been born eight thousand times; that his soul had successively passed through different animals, and that he had appeared in the figure of an ape, a dragon, an elephant, &c. Thus this pretended god was worshipped under the shape of various animals, and the Chinese built several temples to many different idols.

The bonzes of China say there is a great difference between good and evil, and that after death the good will be rewarded and the wicked punished; that man ought not to kill any living creature, or take what belongs to others; not to be guilty of impurity; to forbear lying, and to drink no wine. But especially they must be kind to the bonzes, procure them the necessaries of life, build them monasteries and temples, that by their prayers and penances the sins of the people may be expiated. "At the funeral obsequies of your relations," say they, "burn gilt and silver paper, and garments made of silk, and these in the other world shall be changed into gold,

silver, and rich habits: by this means your departed relations will enjoy every thing necessary, and be able to reconcile the eighteen guardians of the infernal regions, who without these bribes would be inexorable. If you neglect these commands you must expect nothing after death but to become a prey to the most cruel torments; while your soul, by a long succession of transmigrations, shall pass into the vilest animals, and you appear in the form of a mule, a horse, a dog, a rat, or some more contemptible creature."

The many Chinese who believe the doctrine of the transmigration of souls are the dupes of the bonzes: these priests find this opinion of great use in raising charitable contributions, and enlarging their revenues; and from this they find means to practise many frauds upon the people. Le Compte says, that two of these bonzes, seeing in the yard of a rich peasant two or three large ducks, prostrated themselves on their faces before the door, sighing and weeping bitterly. The good woman seeing them from her chamber window, came down to learn the cause of their grief. "We know," said they, "that the souls of our fathers have passed into the bodies of those creatures, and our fear lest you should kill them will certainly make us die with grief." "I own," said the women, "we intended to sell them, but since they are your fathers, I promise to keep them." This was not what the bonzes wanted. "But," continued they, "perhaps your husband will not be so charitable, and then

if any accident should happen to them, you may be sure it will kill us." At length, after a long discourse, the good woman was so far moved with their pretended grief, that she committed the ducks to their care. They took them with great respect, prostrated themselves before them twenty times; but that very evening made a feast of them for some of their society.

The bonzes are of different degrees; for beside those employed in collecting alms, a smaller number of them gain the knowledge of books, speak politely, and employ themselves in visiting the learned, and insinuating themselves into the favour of the mandarines. Though they have not a regular hierarchy, they have their superiors, whom they call "great bonzes," and this rank adds to the reputation they have acquired by their age, gravity, meekness, and hypocrisy.

In every province are certain mountains on which are idol temples that have greater credit than the rest. The people go far in pilgrimage to them, and when they are at the foot of those mountains, prostrate themselves at every step they take in ascending. Those who cannot go on pilgrimage, desire some of their friends to purchase, from the bonzes, a large printed sheet. In the middle of the sheet is the figure of the god *Fo*, and upon his garment, and round about it, are a multitude of small circles. The devotees also hang on their necks, and round their arms, a kind of bracelet composed of an hundred beads.

beads, and eight large ones. On the top is one of an extraordinary size. When they turn these beads upon their fingers, they pronounce these mysterious words, *O mi to Fo*, the signification of which they themselves do not understand. They make above an hundred genuflexions, and then draw one of these red circles upon the paper. From time to time they invite the bonzes to come to the temple to pray, and to authenticate by their seal the number of circles they have drawn. This they carry in a pompous manner to funerals, in a small box sealed up by the bonzes, and call it a passport for travelling from this life to the next. This passport costs them a considerable sum; but they say they ought not to complain of the expence, because they are sure of a happy journey.

In some cities are several societies of ladies, who are commonly of a good family, and advanced in years, and consequently have money to dispose of. They are superiors of the society in turns, and it is generally at the superior's house that the assemblies are held. Whenever they meet, a bonze, pretty well advanced in years, is president of the assembly, and sings hymns to the god *Fo*; the devotees join in the concert, and after having several times cried *O mi to Fo*, and beaten some small kettles, they sit down to table and regale themselves.

On solemn days they adorn the house with idols placed in order by the bonzes, and in grotesque paintings represent the torments of hell. The prayers

ers and feast last seven days, during which their principal care is to prepare and consecrate treasures for the other world. For this purpose they build an apartment with paper painted and gilt, containing every part of a perfect house: this they fill with a great number of pasteboard boxes, painted and varnished, in which are represented ingots of gold and silver, made of gilt paper. Of these there are several hundreds, designed to redeem them from the dreadful punishments which the king of the infernal regions inflicts on those who have nothing to give him; whilst a number of them are placed by themselves, to bribe his officers; the rest, as well as the house, are for lodging, boarding, and buying some office in the other world. All these little boxes are fastened by padlocks of paper, and then, shutting the doors of the paper house, they secure it with locks of the same substance. When the person who has been at this expence happens to die, they burn the house with much ceremony, and afterward both the keys of the house and of the little chests, that the good woman in the other world may be able to open them, and take out the gold and silver after the paper is turned into those metals.

All that has been hitherto mentioned relates only to the exterior doctrines of Fo, but as to the interior very few of the bonzes themselves are capable of understanding those mysteries. They teach, that a vacuum, or empty void, is the beginning and end of all things; that from this nothing all things were produced, and

to it they shall return; and that all beings, both animate and inanimate, differ from each other only in their form and qualities. "In order to live happily we must continually strive," say they, "by meditation and frequent victories over ourselves, to become like this principle, and to that purpose must accustom ourselves to do nothing, to wish for nothing, and to think of nothing. The nearer a man approaches to the nature of a stone, or the trunk of a tree, the greater is his perfection. In short, it is in indolence and in inactivity, and in a cessation of all desires, and annihilation of all the faculties of the soul, that they suppose virtue and happiness to consist. When a man has once attained this state, all his transmigrations are at an end; he has nothing to fear, because properly he is nothing, or, if he is any thing, he is happy."—This kind of quietism, however, is not peculiar to the disciples of Fo among the Chinese, for the Gehtos have a proverb of the same import.

The greatest part of the learned, and particularly the disciples of Confucius, have warmly attacked this doctrine, proving that this apathy, or rather stupid insensibility, overturns all morality; that man is raised above other beings only by his thinking and reasoning faculties, and by his attainments in the knowledge and practice of virtue; that this base inactivity is renouncing the most essential duties, cancelling the obligations resulting from the relations of father and son, husband and wife, prince and subject; and that if this doctrine was practised in its full extent,

it.

it would reduce all the members of the state to a condition much inferior to that of the brutes.

There are two other religions, of a very different nature, that have been long tolerated in China.

At Kay-fong-su, the capital of Ho-nan, is a synagogue of Jews, who have been settled many centuries in China: they were visited in the year 1704 by a missionary, named Cozani, who had a long conference with them. They shewed him their religious books, and permitted him to enter the most secret place of the synagogue, reserved only for the ruler, who never goes into it but with the most profound reverence. In the midst of the synagogue was a very handsome pulpit, which stood very high, and had a cushion richly embroidered; from which, on their sabbath, they constantly read in the books of the Pentateuch. There was also a tablet, on which was written the emperor's name; but there were no statues or images. There were likewise a censer, a long table, and some candlesticks. On several other tables were thirteen tablets, in the form of an ark, with curtains before them; twelve represented the tribes of Israel, and the thirteenth Moses, whose writings were shut up in each of them. On leaving the synagogue Cozani entered a large saloon, in which were only a great number of censers; and they told him, this was the place in which they honoured the great men of their law. From this saloon he was conducted to the hall of guests, in order to discourse with them; and here, on comparing his Bible with their Pentateuch,

teuch, he found both the chronology and the descents of the patriarchs, with their ages, exactly agree. This synagogue looks to the west, to which they turn whenever they pray to God, whom they worship under the names of "Creator of all Things," and "Governor of the Universe." They call the law, "the law of Israel," "the ancient law," and "the law of God." Cozani prevailed on the chief priest to cause the curtains of one of the tabernacles to be undrawn, and to unfold one of the books, they being written on long pieces of parchment and rolled round a piece of wood. The character was very distinct and clear; but one of the books having narrowly escaped an inundation when the Yellow river overflowed its banks, it happened to receive injury by the water, and the character's being somewhat defaced, the Jews caused the twelve copies to be transcribed from it. This ancient MS. of the Old Testament does not contain several of the books which are to be found in our ~~canon~~, with some of which these Jews are entirely unacquainted.

Cozani was surprised to find that their ancient rabbies had blended several ridiculous tales with the facts related in Scripture; for beside the Bible, they have several other books, composed by the ancient rabbies: some of these, which contain the most extravagant stories, comprehend the ritual, and the ceremonies they now use.

They still retain some of the ceremonies of the Old Testament; in particular they practise circumcision, and

and observe the seventh day, the feast of unleavened bread, and of the paschal lamb. They make no fires, nor dress any provision on their sabbaths; and whenever they read the Bible in ~~their~~ synagogues, they cover their faces with a transparent veil, in memory of Moses, who descended from the mountain with his face covered; they also abstain from blood, and cut the veins of the animals they kill that all the blood may flow out.

Yet, notwithstanding this, they pay the same honours to Confucius as the Chinese literati. They join with them in the ceremonies performed in the halls of their great men, pay the honours due to their ancestors in the hall contiguous to the synagogue, and offer them the flesh of animals, except swine, with sweetmeats and incense, prostrating themselves on the earth. They used only censers, without either inscriptions or images, in the houses and halls of their ancestors. When Cozani spoke to them of the life and actions of the Messiah, they ~~seemed~~ greatly surprised, and said that they had never heard of any Jesus, except the son of Sirach mentioned in their Bible; they also told him, that their ancestors first appeared in the empire of China, in the dynasty of Han, which began two hundred and six years before the birth of Christ, and ended two hundred and twenty after the Christian æra. There were once many families of them, but they are now greatly reduced.

There

There are also many Mahometans who have been settled above six hundred years in several provinces, where they have their mosques, and are never disturbed, because they live peaceably without opposing the customs or religion of the country.

It will be proper before we quit this head, to give our readers a short account of the attempts which have been made by the Jesuits, and other missionaries, to introduce the tenets of the church of Rome into this extensive empire, in doing which we shall follow the learned J. L. de Mosheim.

The founders of the Romish church in China were three Italian Jesuits, who were sent into that empire, by the superiors of their order, toward the end of the sixteenth century. One of these three, named *Ricci*, a man of uncommon abilities, continued his mission many years after the other two were recalled, and established a great reputation, both among the learned and the vulgar. He rendered himself agreeable to all ranks, and kept up a good understanding with the bonzes, from whom he acquired a knowledge of the Chinese manners, disposition, and learning; in some measure he reconciled the ancient religion of the country to the first principles of theology, and blended the maxims of Confucius with the doctrines of Jesus Christ. He signified to the people, that he was only come to renew and reform the abrogated religion of their forefathers, and that his moral system was no other than that

that of their great philosopher Cong-fu-zee, or Confucius... This secured to him many followers, but the rigid adherents to the peculiar doctrines of popery inveighed against his temporizing moderation, with all the bitterness of bigotted zeal; yet as he brought the ancient Chinese faith to a greater conformity with nature, reason, and true religion, and endeavoured to make his disciples good men, if not altogether thorough Catholics, every lover of virtue will venerate the name of father Ricci. At length, in the year 1630, the Dominicans and Franciscans arrived in China, who being averse to the temporizing plan of conversion which had hitherto been pursued, boldly censured the conduct of the Christian converts. This produced a warm dispute between the different orders, which brought on an appeal to the supreme judge of Rome, and a decree was made by pope Innocent X. in 1645, enjoining the Jesuits to insist on a more rigid renunciation of idolatrous superstitions from the converts to Christianity.

The Jesuits in China being more intent on establishing themselves than the authority of the Pope, and choosing rather to soothe the people, by insisting only on a qualified observance of the precepts of their church, than by combating their favourite customs, to endanger their own well-being in the state, received this injunction with apparent veneration, and treated it with real contempt; their common manner of receiving those decrees of the bishops of Rome which counteract the views of their society. These fathers

fathers had the influence to get the decree annulled in 1656.

During the minority of the emperor Cham-hi, a cruel persecution of the Christians was set on foot in 1669, but when that sovereign came of age, he caressed and countenanced the Jesuits. These expert men did not fail to make good use of the protection granted them; they obtained, in 1692, an edict from the emperor, by which the Christian religion was declared to be good and salutary, and all his subjects were permitted to embrace it.

Christianity thus countenanced by the throne, met with its greatest obstruction from the animosity of those who inculcated it; a furious contest arose between the Jesuitical converts, and those made by the Dominicans and Franciscans. The most deadly hatred of each other became a part of the *Christian* temper infused into each sect. Many years were spent in these altercations, and strenuous appeals were made to Rome by both parties, where, after six years had been spent in consulting and deliberating, judgment was at length pronounced. In 1704, the holy office decreed, "That the two Chinese words, *Tein* and *Chang-ti*; should no longer be applied to God; but that instead of them, the word *Tien-chu*, which signifies Lord of Heaven, should be introduced; that the tables on which were written, in Chinese letters, *King-tien*, or "the honour of Heaven," should be removed from the Christian churches; that Christians should by no means assist

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at those sacrifices which are offered in spring and autumn, at the time of the equinox, to Confucius and their ancestors; that they should likewise absent themselves from those houses and temples which are built in honour of Confucius, in order to pay to that philosopher the worship rendered him from the literati of the empire; that they should thenceforward upon no account pay that worship to their ancestors that is paid by the Chinese; where or in what manner soever it is offered; and, in the last place, that those tablets of their forefathers, upon which was written in Chinese letters, *The seat of the soul, or spirit of N.* should be removed from the houses of all Christians.

These rigid restrictions were softened by some small indulgences: the new converts were permitted to appear along with their relations in the halls of their forefathers, and to be spectators of the ceremonies there performed, but not to partake of them in the least. They were further indulged in hanging up the tables of their ancestors in their houses without any other inscription than the name of the deceased, and a declaration affixed, containing the Christian faith concerning departed souls, and they were allowed to retain such of the ancient funeral rites as were free from all appearance of superstition. These indulgences were insufficient to soften the resentment of the Jesuits at this unexpected decree, the influence of which, and a subsequent bull of Clement XI. issued in 1715, proved the sources of great confusion among the papists in Asia; and the death of the

the emperor Chang-chi, the patron of the Jesuits, which happened in 1722, gave a new face to the state of religion in China. Yong-Teching, his son and successor, unexpectedly repealed the edict published by his father in favour of the Christian religion, prohibited his subjects from embracing the faith of the Europeans, and permitted his governors of provinces and officers of state to persecute the Christians and demolish their churches. A blind religious zeal, long kept under a painful restraint, is naturally apt to break out with increased violence when the restraint is removed. The emperor himself headed the party which he had let loose against the Christians: he ordered all Romish ecclesiastics in his dominions to be taken into custody, and conveyed to Canton or Peking, to prevent any further exercise of their functions, and at length they were banished to the island of Macao. The Jesuits alone had the address to shelter themselves from this storm: their general knowledge and superior abilities, which they carefully exerted to gratify the favourite pursuits of the emperor, always procured for themselves an exemption from persecution. It ought however to be observed, that although the Jesuits endeavour to place this persecution, and that which followed, under the emperor Kien-long, to the score of religion, the Chinese assert, that it was not Christianity, but the violation of their laws which they meant to punish.

Notwithstanding the opposition made to the doctrines

trines taught by these missionaries, by an account published in 1743, it appears, that in the city of Pekin, and the province of Pe-che-li, in which it is situated, the number of Christian converts gained by the Jesuits amounted to more than 50,000. In 1746, another general persecution was raised, and by accounts published in 1758, it appears, that the emperor was not at all inclined to tolerate the profession of Christianity in his territories.

Montesquieu observes, that Christianity can never be established in China. Beside many instances which he gives in support of his opinion, respecting rites peculiar to the church of Rome, he mentions the assembling of women in churches, their necessary communication with the minister of religion, their participation in the sacraments, the marriage of only one wife, which overturn both the manners and customs of the country, and with the same blow strike at its religion and laws. *L'Esprit des Loix*, liv. xix. cap. 18.—This reasoning, however, would have equally applied to Italy in the time of Augustus or any of the Cæsars, when it was as improbable that Christianity would ever become the religion of the whole country, as it now is that it should be the established religion of China.

Such are the accounts given by French writers; but it appears that the Russians have a church at Pekin, where they worship according to the Greek form. Even students of that nation are permitted to reside in the capital, for the purpose of acquiring the Chinese language and literature. "Hitherto,"

says Mr. Coxe, "we have been indebted almost entirely to the French for any probable accounts of the interior state of the Chinese empire, but the amicable intercourse which has for some time subsisted between the courts of Peterburgh and Pekin, has facilitated the acquisition of Chinese books; and the establishment of a seminary at the latter city has enabled the Russians to obtain a more general and accurate knowledge of the Chinese empire, particularly with respect to its laws, history, and geography." *Travels*, 8vo. edit. III. 199 *.

The Chinese in their persons are far from being such grotesque figures as they represent themselves in their paintings; and we may form a pretty distinct idea of them in general, by considering what they esteem beauty. This they imagine consists in having a large forehead, small eyes, a short nose, a broad face, a mouth of a moderate size, large ears, and black hair; together with a certain symmetry and proportion between all the parts. As their garments are wide, and do not fit so close to the body as those of the Europeans, they have formed no idea of the beauty resulting from a genteel and easy shape. On the contrary, they esteem a man well made when he is fat, bulky, and handsomely fills his chair. Their complexion, in the southern parts of China, where the weather is excessively hot, is of

* Mr. Coxe was certainly misinformed respecting a seminary of Russians being instituted at Pekin, for sir George Staunton has very obligingly assured the author that there are a few Russians at Pekin, but that they have no seminary there.

an olive colour; but, in the northern provinces, they are naturally as fair as the Europeans, and, in common, their faces are not disagreeable: the men of learning, and young people, particularly, not being exposed to the sun, have a fine skin and a beautiful complexion. Such as are professedly men of letters, especially if they are well descended, affect to let the nails of their fingers grow an inch long or more, from the vanity of shewing that they are not employed in manual labour; a custom which prevails in Otaheite, among the *eries*, or men of rank.

As for the women, they are commonly of the middle size; their noses are short, their eyes little, their mouths well made, and with rosy lips; their ears are long, their hair black, and their complexion florid; their features are regular, and their countenances full of vivacity. The smallness of their feet is, in the opinion of the Chinese, none of the least charms of that sex: therefore, when a female infant is born, the nurses are very careful in binding her feet extremely hard, to prevent their growing; and they are ever after subjected to this constraint: but whatever pain a child suffers from this violence offered to nature, it appears that its health is not materially affected by it; and such is the force of custom, that the Chinese women, when adult, are so far from complaining of it, that they pride themselves in this whimsical perversion of nature, and always affect to shew their feet as they walk, or rather hobble along with tottering and unsteady steps.

The men shave their heads, leaving only one lock of hair growing on the crown. Osbeck says, "If a Chinese is asked what sum of money would induce him to part with his tuft of hair? he replies by asking the inquirer, what he would take for his head?" our author adds, "no wonder they so highly prize an ornament which they have cherished for twenty, thirty, or even a greater number of years." They cover their heads in summer with a small cap, in the form of a funnel, made of rattan or cane, and lined with satin. At the top is a tuft of hair that spreads over it to the very edges. This hair, which grows between the legs of a cow, is dyed of a bright red, and is permitted to be worn by all sorts of people; but the men of letters wear a cap of the same form made of pasteboard, and lined and covered with satin, with a large tuft of the finest red silk. In winter they wear a very warm kind of cap, bordered with sable, ermine, or fox-skin, the upper part of which is covered with red silk, that falls round it to the edges, and as they walk flutters in the air. This border of fur is two or three inches broad, and looks very handsome. The upper part of the cap, when worn by the mandarines in their formalities, is adorned with a diamond, or some other precious stone, ill cut, though set in gold.

Their other garments consist in a long vest, one lappet of which folds over the other, and reaches to the right side, where it is fastened by five or six gold or silver buttons, at a small distance from each other.

other. The sleeves, which are broad toward the shoulders, grow narrow by degrees toward the hand. They gird themselves with a large silk sash, the end of which hangs down to their knees, and in this they put their purse, and a case that contains a knife, two small sticks which serve for a fork, and other necessary utensils. Under the vest they in summer wear linen drawers, which are sometimes covered with another of taffety; but in winter they wear satin breeches, with cotton or raw silk quilted in them: in the northern provinces these are made of warm skins. Their shirts are made of different kinds of cloth, and are very wide and short. In summer their necks are quite naked.

M. Renaudet published at Paris, in the year 1718, a work which controverted many circumstances respecting the literature and internal government of the Chinese, which had been related in the accounts published by the Jesuits. His work is entitled "*Anciennes Relations des Indes et de la Chine.*" Every effort was therefore used by those fathers to invalidate the authority of his quotations; but at length M. de Guines hath fully established the credit of M. Renaudet, by having found deposited in the French king's library the original Chinese MS. from which that author professed to derive his facts. This discovery was made public in the year 1764.

It is generally agreed that the silkworm was first bred, and its curious web first manufactured, in China, and for a great many centuries formed a most

lucrative branch of trade; no other part of the world having any knowledge of that insect, or of its wonderful properties. The ancients in all ages were supplied with that costly article of luxury, silk, from India, whither it was brought from China. It was about the middle of the sixth century, in the reign of Justinian, that two Persian monks, who had been employed as missionaries in some of the Christian churches, which were established, as we are informed by Cosmas, in different parts of India, had penetrated into the country of the Seres, or China. There they observed the labours of the silkworm, and became acquainted with the whole process of working up its productions into such a variety of elegant fabrics. The prospect of gain, or perhaps an indignant zeal, excited by seeing this lucrative branch of commerce engrossed by unbelievers; prompted them to repair to Constantinople; there they explained to the emperor the origin of silk, as well as the various modes of preparing and manufacturing it: mysteries until then unknown, or very imperfectly understood, in Europe. Encouraged by his liberal promises, they undertook to bring to the capital a sufficient number of those wonderful insects, to whose labour man is so much indebted. This they accomplished by conveying the eggs of the silkworm in a hollow cane; which were hatched by the heat of a dunghill; the insects, so procured, were fed with the leaves of the wild mulberry-tree, and they multiplied and worked in the same manner

as in those climates where they first became objects of human attention and culture. Vast numbers of these insects were soon reared in different parts of Greece, particularly in the Peloponesus. Sicily afterward undertook to breed silkworms with equal success, and was imitated, from time to time, in several towns in Italy. In all these places extensive manufactures were established and carried on with silk raised in the country. The demand for silk from the East diminished of course. The subjects of the Greek emperors were no longer obliged to have recourse to the Persians for a supply of it, and a considerable change took place in the nature of the commercial intercourse between Europe and India. *Dr. Robertson's Historical Disquisition concerning ancient India*, page 88. •

It was ten centuries after the Chinese had lost their monopoly of silk, that tea became adopted into general use in European countries. The demand for this favourite leaf has continually increased since its first introduction, which is little more than a century ago. In the year 1785, when the British ministry introduced regulations respecting the duties on this important article, it was stated in the house of commons, that the whole quantity of tea imported into Europe from China was about nineteen millions of pounds weight, of which it was conjectured that twelve millions were consumed in Great Britain, and its dependencies.

The porcelain of China was highly esteemed by the ancients from the time when the Romans became luxurious.

The visit of Marco Paulo to China in the thirteenth century, has ever been considered as the first intercourse which any European effected with that country; but the laborious investigations of M. de Guignes have brought to light an embassy sent thither in a much earlier period of time. In his *Memoire sur les Liaisons et le Commerce du Romain avec les Tartares et les Chinois*; *Mem. de Literat.* xxxii. 355, &c. he states that the Chinese historians have recorded a circumstance which none of the Greek or Roman writers have noticed. In the 160th year of the Christian æra, An-toun (the emperor Marcus Antoninus) king of the people of the western ocean, sent an embassy to Oun-ti, who then reigned over China, for the purpose of opening a commercial intercourse with that country. As this overture has hitherto been buried in oblivion, it may be concluded that it proved unsuccessful, and produced no consequences.

In the present century, M. Ismayloff was sent on an embassy to China by Peter the Great of Russia, which arrived at Peking in the year 1728. See *Bell's Travels*, I. 5. Ever since the Russians have carried on a considerable trade with the Chinese from Siberia.

About the time that the overture from Manilla

was made to the Japanese, (see page 21) or near forty years after the Russian embassy, M. Pages relates, that the council of Manilla likewise dispatched an embassy to Peking to procure a commercial intercourse. They appeared in the character of Indians, and obtained a free trade in the maritime parts of the empire; in which traffic, although the Indians alone are conspicuous, the Spaniards are the principals. But whilst the short distance from Luconia to the coast of China, being not more than an hundred leagues, presents vast commercial advantages, yet such is the characteristic supineness of the nation enjoying it, that the trade is carried on without spirit or effect.

The recent embassy from the king of Great Britain to the court of Peking, both as to its objects and procurements, remains at present unrevealed to the public; but a full account of this interesting event may be soon expected to appear from a very respectable quarter, and the best qualified to give it, Sir George Staunton, who accompanied Lord Macartney on that voyage of negotiation, being employed in preparing his papers for the press.

CHAP. III.

THE MOLUCCAS, OR SPICE ISLANDS.

THE MOLUCCAS are so called from *Molot*, a word which, in the Malay language, signifies head, they being situated at the entrance of what the natives call "the Archipelago of St. Lazarus," which, however, the best European maps do not express. According to D'Anville's very accurate map of Asia, Ternate, the most northern of this cluster, and the largest island, lies in fifty-five seconds of north latitude. They lie in the following order, in the direction from N. to S. Tidor, Macir, Makian, and Batian, the latter extending to forty seconds south. Adjacent to these are several smaller islands considerably more to the southward. Between the islands of Ceram and Buero, are the important islands of Amboyna and Banda; the first in four degrees south, the other in four degrees fifty minutes south. The extensive island of Celebes lies to the W. at about 70 leagues distance, and on the E. a narrow strait separates them from the island of Gilolo; and farther on, in the same direction, is Papua and New Guinea. The Moluccas are likewise known by the name of the SPICE ISLANDS, on account of their exuberant production of spices, particularly cloves

and nutmegs. The largest island in this cluster of islands is not quite thirty miles in circumference. Neither corn nor rice can be cultivated here; the natives chiefly subsist upon sago, which is the pith of the libby-tree; and its fruit is convertible to no use. This pith is brought into a granulated state by being baked over a fire, and will then keep several years.

Europe, for more than two thousand years, has been supplied with spices from the East, though it is not yet three hundred years since she became acquainted with the islands where they grow. The Persians, Arabians, and Egyptians, formerly conveyed them by means of the Red Sea, and then down the Nile to the coast of Egypt; and thither the Carthaginians, the Greeks, the Romans, the Venetians, and Genoese, in successive periods of time, resorted to buy the spices and silks of India; which, at a most extravagant profit, they dispersed over all Europe. It is not however to be imagined that the spices with which the ancients were acquainted were the production of these islands, but rather the growth of Arabia Felix; for the clove and the nutmeg were entirely unknown to them, and these have been, hitherto, peculiar to the Moluccas.

It is not known who were the first inhabitants of these islands, but it is certain that the Javans and the Malays have successively possessed them. See *Bartholomew d'Aginsola's Account of the Conquest of*

of the Moluccas. About the year 1520 they were inhabited by a savage race of men, whose chiefs, though honoured with the title of kings, possessed only a limited authority, and were in fact entirely dependent on the caprice of their subjects. Paganism was the religion which prevailed among them, but their occasional intercourse with other Asiatics led them to blend with that many of the superstitions of Mahometanism. *Raynal Hist. Pol. liv. I.* Accident caused the Chinese to touch at the Moluccas, and they it was who discovered the clove and the nutmeg. *Idem.*

The Mahometans of Arabia, and the neighbouring countries, who were improperly called Moors by the first discoverers of the Indies, in order to carry on this trade to the best advantage, settled colonies on all the oriental islands, and drove the native inhabitants from the coasts to the mountains, where they retained their religion, liberty, and former customs; living in a perpetual state of hostility with their lawless invaders, who had driven them from their spicy groves. Thus the aromatic sweets of these islands were almost as fatal to the inhabitants, as the gold and silver of Mexico and Peru were long after to the unhappy natives of those regions of America; but the orientals better preserved their native freedom. They still continue to slay and plunder those who fall into their power, and hence are denominated savage murderers and robbers; while both the Christians and Mahometans, on the
other

other hand, seize every opportunity of destroying them, and of reducing all who fall into their hands to a state of slavery; notwithstanding which, they expect to be thought honest men.

At length, several European republics having acquired immense wealth by purchasing the spices brought to Egypt, and selling them at a prodigious profit, the Portuguese, who had employed sixty years in making discoveries along the coast of Africa, in 1486 reached the Cape on its most southern extremity; and Bartholomew Diaz, who made the important discovery, gave it the name of *Cabo Tormentoso*, or “the Cape of Storms,” from the tempestuous weather he found there: but when he returned to Portugal with the intelligence, king John II. flattering himself that his ships would soon find a way by sea to the Indies, changed the name to *Cabo de Buena Esperanza*, or “the Cape of Good Hope:” but it was not till the year 1497, that Vasco di Gama, doubling that Cape with three ships, traced out a way to the East Indies; but before this time Columbus, in 1487, persuaded that it was possible to discover the Indies by sailing to the West, made the daring and prosperous voyage by which he gave a new world to Europe. (See an account of his discoveries in a subsequent chapter).

The Portuguese, continuing their discoveries, settled factories in different countries of the East, not subject to the Moors; but met with constant opposition from those traders, who still carried on the commerce

commerce of the East. At length they discovered the *Spice Islands*, and availing themselves of the animosity which subsisted between the kings of Ternate and Tydore, who had long been at war with each other, they engaged those princes to refer their differences to them; and the people being ready to grant every thing they proposed, in hopes of their alliance, they found no difficulty in settling their factories and building forts. These they soon erected in many parts of the Indies, and every where treated the natives as their vassals.

Having thus established themselves in the East Indies, and having the pope's bull, as well as an agreement with the Spaniards to secure their pretensions, they assumed the lofty title of "lords of the navigation, conquest, and commerce of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia, and India." They continued to erect forts and cities at convenient distances along the African, Arabian, Persian, and Indian coasts, and particularly in the Spice Islands.

They found, however, a rival power spring up at a time and from a quarter least expected. Ferdinand Magellan, an officer in the king of Portugal's service, having received some disgust, entered into the service of the king of Spain, and in 1519 set sail from the port of Seville, with five ships and two hundred and thirty men: having had the good fortune to discover those straits, which have received their name from him, he opened a passage into the south Sea, and, by crossing that extensive

five

five ocean, first discovered the Ladrones, and afterwards the Philippines, where, venturing on shore in a hostile manner, and skirmishing with the natives, he was slain.

Magellan's original design of securing some of the Spice Islands was defeated by his death; for those who were left in command contented themselves with ranging through them, and purchasing spices of the natives; after which they returned home round the Cape of Good Hope; and these were the first ships that surrounded this terraqueous globe, and by this means demonstrated, by an experiment obvious to the most unlettered mind, the reality of its spherical form.

The next European nation that visited the Spice Islands was the English, under the command of Sir Francis Drake, who set sail from Plymouth on the thirteenth of December 1577, with five ships, and one hundred and sixty-four men, and passing through the Straits of Magellan, crossed the South Sea, and arrived at the Molucca Islands on the 14th of November 1579, when he sent a present to the king of Ternate; who was so pleased with his behaviour, and so exasperated at the insolent conduct of the Portuguese, who aimed at prohibiting his subjects from trading with any other nation, that he desired the assistance and protection of the queen of England. The admiral had several conferences with this prince and the chief men of the country, by whom he was splendidly entertained; and, having purchased

purchased a considerable quantity of cloves, he set sail for England, where he arrived on the third of November 1580.

In 1587 Mr. Cavendish sailed round the world, pursuing the course taken by Drake, and touching at the Moluccas, found the natives still desirous of trading with the English; he then sailed to the Isle of Java, and afterward returned by the Cape of Good Hope to England.

Spain and Portugal had been united in 1580 under one head; and the Dutch, by the assistance of England, had freed them from the Spanish yoke, and the terrors of the Inquisition. The United Provinces affording an asylum to all who fled from the cruelty of the Spaniards, a multitude of merchants resorted thither, who filled the country with money, and in the different branches of commerce they carried on, trained up numbers of masters, whose experience and boldness enabled them to carry into execution the most speculative and hazardous naval enterprises. These having first endeavoured in vain to discover the north-east passage to the Indies, the city of Amsterdam, in 1595, fitted out four ships for the East Indies, which the next year arrived at Bantam, in the Isle of Java, where they purchased spices, and returned with a rich cargo to Holland.

They made other successful voyages without discovering the spice Islands, though the Spaniards, enraged that a few merchants, the rebels of their state, should thus successfully rob them of a valuable branch

branch of their commerce, fitted out strong squadrons to chastise them: but the Dutch merchants surmounted all opposition, sunk, burned, or took their ships, and returned laden with spices. Among these adventurers was admiral Van Nort, who sailed through the Straits of Magellan, and had the glory of being the first Hollander who circumnavigated the globe.

In 1599, James Van Neck sailed with eight ships to Bantam, where the Portuguese had been expelled, in consequence of a quarrel between them and the natives. Here four ships took in their lading of pepper, while the other four under Van Warwyk failed to the Moluccas; two of them took in their lading of cloves at Amboyna and Ternate, and the other two failed to Banda, where having settled a factory, as the other ships did at Ternate, they freighted their ships with nutmegs and mace, and returned to Holland in 1600.

The Dutch, in these expeditions, conducted themselves with humanity and moderation, betraying no symptoms of that insolent and oppressive disposition, which their success excited afterward. Such was their humanity to their prisoners, and with such honour did they behave in every thing that related to them, that the Spanish governors at Malacca and in the Moluccas gave them ample testimonies of their kindness and generosity; a character undoubtedly merited, being testified by their rivals and their enemies. This good conduct contributed in a great measure to the success of their designs, by wiping

off the imputation of piracy, and causing them to be considered as a humane and generous nation amongst the Eastern princes; an advantage by so much the greater, as the Portuguese had been a long time hated for the weight and severity of their yoke.

By this time several Dutch companies were formed, which, as they were rivals in interest, no harmony or good understanding subsisted between them. Ships were fitted out by several societies for the same ports, and their cargoes consisting of assortments, glutted the markets with the same commodities, and discouraged all the adventures by the loss on the sales, or the stagnation of their capitals. The States General, to put a stop to these evils, which threatened the ruin of this most important trade, convened, at the Hague, the directors of all the different companies, and obliged them to unite into one body corporate, granting them the most ample privileges. Matters being thus adjusted, the wealth and consequence of the company rapidly advanced; numbers of the richest persons in the state added their stocks to its capital, which now amounted to six millions six hundred thousand florins.

The Dutch now enlarged their views, and with this treasure, added to their united forces, fitted out strong fleets for the East Indies; and being an overmatch for the Portuguese, attacked^d their ships wherever they met them, and reduced, one place after another, till they scarcely left them a fort or factory in India.

In 1609 the Dutch arrived at Banda, with a strong fleet and forces on board, commanded by admiral Varheuf; who solicited leave of the *orancayas*, or states of the country, to build a fort in the small isle of Nero, to defend them from the insults of the Portuguese and Spaniards; but the Bandanese absolutely refused to comply with the request: upon which the Dutch admiral making a descent with a strong body of troops, attacked and routed the natives; who finding themselves too weak to withstand such force, had recourse to artifice, and drew Varheuf and several officers into a wood, where, having laid an ambuscade, they were all slain. This warrantable stratagem however proved in the end fatal to the natives; for the Dutch, under other commanders, prosecuting the war with great force and impetuosity, entirely subdued the natives.

The English, in their first attempts to establish a trade in the East Indies, were very unsuccessful; notwithstanding which an East India company was incorporated in London by letters patent in 1600; but the Dutch having gained a footing in the Spice Islands, forgetting that they owed their existence as a free people to the English, and grown arrogant by their extraordinary success, began to monopolize the spice trade; treating all the English who approached those islands in an hostile manner, and with unqualified insolence: yet in spite of all opposition, captain Keeling settled an English factory at Ban-

tam, in the Isle of Java, in 1609; and in 1616 the principal persons of the islands of Pooloroo^t and Pooloway made a formal surrender of those islands to Mr. Nathaniel Courthop, Mr. Thomas Spürway, and Mr. Sophon Cozecke, for the use of king James I. in consideration of their being protected against the Dutch, and annually supplied by the English with rice, cloathing, and other necessaries. Upon this occasion a writing was drawn up and signed by both parties. They also delivered a nutmeg-tree, taken up with the roots, and the fruit upon it, and a live goat, by way of feisin; and, at their desire, the English colours were hoisted in the island of Pooloroon; when thirty-six guns were fired in honour of this cession.

The king and principal persons of Wayre and Rosinging also surrendered those islands to England on the same conditions.

Lantore, or Banda, at the same time sought the protection of the English; and on the twenty-fourth of November 1620, the chiefs of that island surrendered it up in form by a writing, which they signed and delivered to Mr. Hayes, who took the command of an English fort erected there.

Nothing could be more honourable with respect to the English; nothing could convey a better title, than the surrender of these islands by the people who possessed them. The free consent and voluntary surrender of the natives surely gives a claim to a country
more

more noble, more just, and equitable, than force can ever obtain, or conquest confer. But the Dutch, in time of profound peace, took the English ships, besieged their forts, and carried on an open war with them in the Indies; while the states of Holland, just rescued from the Spanish yoke, by that nation which they now so ungratefully opposed, cajoled the pusillanimous monarch James the First, who then filled the British throne.

While affairs were in this situation, a treaty was entered into between Great Britain and the United States, by which it was agreed, That the English company should enjoy a free trade at Palicate, and bear half the charge of maintaining the fort and garrison there. "That in the isles of the Moluccas, Banda, and Amboyna, the trade should be so regulated by common consent, that the English company should enjoy a third part of that trade, as well for the importing and selling of goods in those islands, as of the fruits and merchandize the growth of them, which should be exported thence; whilst the Dutch company were to enjoy the other two-thirds. And that as to the buying and sharing the said fruits and merchandizes, the principal factors of the two nations should buy them at the current price, and divide them by lot, to each their respective share; and for that end it should be lawful for either party to have access to and abide in, the forts or magazines of the others, and that the forts, as well on the one part

as on the other, should remain in the hands of those who were at present in the possession of them.

But no sooner was this treaty, so favourable to the Dutch, known in India, than, contrary to the very letter as well as spirit of it, they invaded the islands of Lantore and Boornoon, which were in the possession of the English, massacred the principal natives, demolished the forts and factories established there, murdered some of the company's servants, and made the rest prisoners; treating them in a more insolent and barbarous manner than might be expected to have been practised by a declared enemy.

It is not easy to account for the disgraceful and inequitable regulation by which the English company were to possess only a third part of the spice trade, at a time when the Banda islands were their property, and in their possession: but when such a stipulation was ratified by the supreme powers of both nations, nothing could be a more open infraction of the established laws of civilized states, than for these Dutch settlers, in time of profound peace, to infringe upon possessions held by rights so recognized and undisputed.

In pursuance of the above treaty, the English company settled factories at the Moluccas, at Amboyna, and Banda, for carrying on the trade in the stipulated proportion; imagining that the Dutch had made so advantageous a bargain for themselves, that for the future no molestation would be received from them.

But

But no sooner were they fixed in these settlements, than the Dutch traders, in the year 1622, pretended a plot and charged the English and Japanese with a conspiracy to surprise their principal fort at Amboyna, and, by inflicting the most cruel tortures, at length extorted a confession of their intending to attack them. Contrary to the law of nations, they put several of the English and Japanese to death, as if they had been their subjects taken in rebellion, and then expelled those who survived their cruelties. Many of these unhappy victims died protesting their innocence in the strongest terms. These proceedings were attested upon oath, in the court of admiralty, by the English factors who were fortunate enough to escape to England.

The Dutch, immediately after, seized upon all the English factories in the Spice Islands, and have ever since excluded that nation, and all others, from this valuable branch of commerce.

When Cromwell gained the ascendancy in the commonwealth and became protector, he had formed a design to chastise the Dutch for these acts of cruelty and injustice, but he died before any measures had been carried into effect; and the dissipated conduct of the second Charles caused these outrages to be perpetrated with impunity. Many attempts have been made both by the French and the English to procure some of the trees which bear these valuable spices, in a healthy state and proper preservation for

transplanting to a soil and climate deemed congenial with their indigenous growth: on the island of Mauritius and Bourbon the attempt has failed, but better success may be hoped for in the West Indies: on the island of Jamaica many trees have been planted, and are now in such a flourishing state as to encourage the expectation that they will in a few years fructify and become valuable acquisitions.

CHAP. IV.

TIBET, OR THIBET.

THIS country must not be passed over here, on account of the very singular form of government, and peculiarity of superstition which prevail in it.

Tibet proper, or *Great Tibet*, is situated due W. of China. Its extent from E. to W. is much greater than that from N. to S. In D'Anville's map of Asia, the southern extremity of this country is placed at twenty-six degrees N. ; but Major Rennell, in his ~~most~~ approved map, gives the name of Bootan, to all the country from thirty degrees southward. Taking it in the full extent which D'Anville assigns to it, it reaches about twelve hundred miles from E. to W. and about five hundred from N. to S. ; being from seventy-nine degrees to ninety-six degrees E. longitude, and from twenty-five degrees to thirty degrees N. latitude. It is a very elevated country and mountainous ; consequently it experiences a much colder temperature than other countries lying in the same latitude.

The earliest accounts which we have of Tibet are from the writings of the missionaries. What renders

renders this country interesting, is a peculiar modification of superstition which has been here adopted; and in no other quarter of the world is superstition so generally influential, and so peculiarly diversified, as in Asia.

The object of adoration in this country, is what has been styled "the GRAND LAMA," or "the DALAY LAMA," from the office which he is supposed to hold of the supreme pontiff. In former times he possessed the sovereignty of all Tibet, but he now disclaims all concern with temporal affairs, and chooses one whom he constitutes governor in his stead, by the name of tipa. This officer wears the lama or clerical habit, which is generally of frize, with a yellow or red hat, but is under no obligation to observe the rules of the order, which are both severe and numerous: indeed no one lama undertakes to fulfil them all; but they divide the load among them. One adheres to the observance of particular precepts; another makes choice of other rules, and so of the rest; yet there are some prayers in common which they sing agreeably enough: but they are all obliged to live unmarried, and not to interfere with trade.

The principal city has the name of LASSA, as well as the province; but the grand lama does not live in it, his place of residence being one of the finest of the pagods, which are very numerous upon the mountain Putala. He sits cross-legged upon a large and magnificent cushion, placed upon a kind of altar, in

in which posture he receives the respects, or rather adorations, not only of the people of the country, but of a surprising multitude of strangers, who undertake long and painful journeys, to offer him their homage upon their knees, and receive his blessing. Bentink says, that above twenty thousand lamas reside in several circles that extend round the foot of this mountain, according as the rank and dignity they possess render them more worthy to approach the person of the sovereign pontiff.

On the top of the mountains trophies are erected to his honour, that he may preserve man and beast; and all the kings who pay obedience to him, before their inauguration, send ambassadors with rich presents to obtain his blessing, as the means of making their reigns happy and prosperous.

Princes are even no more freed from the ceremony of kneeling at his feet, than the meanest of the people; nor does he treat them with more respect; for the grand lama thinks himself above returning any salute; he therefore never pulls off his bonnet, nor rises from his seat out of complaisance to any who approach him, let their dignity be ever so great; he only puts his hand upon the head of his adorers, who believe that by this means they receive the remission of their sins.

Grueber asserts, that the grandees of the kingdom have such veneration for this living god, that they are very eager to procure his excrements, which they wear pulverized in little bags about their

their necks, as sacred relics, and that the lamas make great advantage by the large presents they receive from the great, for helping them to this precious powder. Tavernier also declares, that those about the dalay lama preserve his ordure, dry it, and reduce it to powder, like saff: then putting it into boxes go every market day, and present it to their chief traders, who having recompensed them for their kindness, carry it home as a great rarity, and when they feast their friends, strew it upon their meat.

The profound veneration which both the princes and people of this extensive country entertain for the power and holiness of the dalay lama, make them readily submit to the most servile rites. They believe the god Fo lives in him, and that he knows all things, sees all things, and penetrates into the very secrets of the heart; and that if at any time he condescends to ask questions, he does it only for form sake, that he may leave the infidels without excuse. They are even persuaded that when he seems to die he only changes his abode, being born again in a new body, and that nothing more is to be done than to discover what body he is pleased to inhabit. The Tartarian princes sometimes engage in this search, yet after all are obliged to refer it to the lamas, who alone understand the marks by which he is to be known, or rather know the child whom the preceding grand lama had appointed to be his successor.

The principal image worshipped by these people is named Manippe, and is represented with nine heads,

heads, placed so as to form a cone, with only one head at the top. Before this idol the people perform their sacred rites, with many odd gesticulations and dances, often repeating, "O Manippe, mi-hum! O Manippe, mi-hum!" which is, O Manippe, save us! To appease and conciliate the favour and esteem of this deity they frequently place before the idol various sorts of meat.

The number of lamas in Tibet is incredible, there being scarcely a family without one, either from devotion, or expectation of preferment in the service of the dalay lama. This dignity, however, is not confined to the inhabitants of Tibet, other nations may arrive at that honour; and there are Tartars, and even Chinese, who resort to Lassa to obtain it; and those that arrive at the rank of the disciples of the dalay lama, the number of which is limited to two hundred, consider it as a great happiness. From among these the khutucktus or superior dalay lamas are chosen, and they no sooner obtain that honour, than plenty pours in upon them from a crowd of adorers, who resort to them from all the neighbouring countries.

The character given the lamas of Lassa, by the missionaries, who were their great enemies, is, that they are debauched, and yet govern princes, who give them the chief place in assemblies. Some of them, they add, are tolerably skilled in medicine; others have some notions of astronomy, and can calculate eclipses. But only a few of them can read or understand

understand their sacred book, or even say their prayers, which are in an ancient tongue, and in a character no longer spoken, though there are said to be in Tibet universities and colleges for teaching their law, and the principles of their religion. Bentink, on the other hand, gives a favourable account of them, and says they both teach and practise the three great and fundamental duties of honouring God, offending nobody, and giving to every one his due; and that he was informed by some travellers of credit, that they strenuously protest against adoring more than one God: that the dalay lama and khütucktus are his servants, to whom he communicates knowledge for the instruction and good of mankind; that the images which they honour are only representations of the deity, or of some holy men; and that they ~~show~~ them to the people only to remind them of their duty.

It is however very observable, that the religion of Tibet resembles that of the Romish church in so many particulars, that one would imagine either, that the church of Rome borrowed her ceremonies from them, or that they derived theirs from Rome. Gerbillon says, that they use holy water, a singing service, and praying for the dead; their dress resembles that in which the apostles are painted; they wear the mitre and cap like the bishops, and their dalay lama is nearly the same among them as the sovereign pontiff is among the Romanists. Grueber goes much farther, and maintains, that though no European or Christian was ever there before him,

yet

yet, their religion agrees with that of the church of Rome in all essential points; among other things he mentions extreme unction, making processions in honour of reliques, their several fasts, their undergoing severe penances, and, in particular, scourging themselves; their consecrating lamas, who have a kind of episcopal jurisdiction, and their sending out missionaries, who live in extreme poverty, and travel bare-footed through the deserts as far as China. To conclude, friar Horace says, that the religion of Tibet is the counterpart of the Romish. "They offer," says he, "Masses, prayers, and sacrifices, for the dead, have a vast number of convents, filled with monks and friars, amounting to thirty thousand, who, beside the three vows of poverty, obedience, and charity, make several others. They have their confessors, who are chosen by their superiors, and have their licences from their lamas, without which they cannot hear confessions, or impose penances." To these may be added the use of beads. The red hat is alike the mark of lamas and cardinals, but the doctrine of transubstantiation, that baseless chimera, but powerful principle in the Romish superstition, has no prototype at Tibet. The gentoos of India also resemble the church of Rome in some few particulars, and practised the same ceremonies before the knowledge of Christianity was revealed to mankind.

Very recent information, from the most respectable

table authority, throws great light upon this curious subject.

When Mr. Hastings was governor-general of India, lieutenant Samuel Turner was appointed on an embassy to Tibet. The particulars of this curious diplomatic appointment are inserted in the first volume of Asiatic Researches.

Mr. Turner speaks of this sublime personage, by the name of Teeshoo Lama, and he confirms the accounts formerly given, that it is an opinion held to be most sacred and indubitable, that this exalted being never dies; for although the bodies in which it takes up its abode successively yield to mortality, yet the spiritual essence thus adored, immediately, upon such occasions, flits away, and animates some other human form.

This embassy was undertaken in the year 1783, and the immortal spirit which was the object of it, at that time was embodied in an infant of eighteen months old. It appears by Mr. Turner's account, which was transmitted to sir William Jones by order of the governor-general and council at Calcutta, that the emperor of China is a devout worshipper of this immortal essence, and had given express orders in what manner its infantile embodied state should be treated.

On the 3d of December, 1783, Mr. Turner arrived at the city of Terpaling, which is situated on the summit of a high hill, where is a monastery newly

newly erected, and on the summit of a high hill, where is a monastery just then finished for the reception and education of Teeshoo Lama. In the centre of this monastery is a palace where he resided, and which occupies about a mile of ground in circumference: the whole is encompassed by a wall. The several buildings serve for the accommodation of three hundred gylongs, who are appointed to perform religious services with Teeshoo Lama until he should be removed to the monastery and musnud of the Teeshoo Loomboo.

In the morning of the next day Mr. Turner visited Teeshoo Lama, and found him placed in great form upon his musnud. On the left side stood his father and mother, and on the other, the officer particularly appointed to wait upon his person. The musnud is a fabric of silk cushions piled one upon the other, until the seat is elevated to the height of four feet from the floor. An embroidered silk covered the top, and the sides were decorated with pieces of silk of various colours, suspended from the upper edge and hanging down. By the particular request of Teeshoo Lama's father, the ambassador, and Mr. Saunders who accompanied him, wore the English dress.

Mr. Turner advanced, and, as is the custom, presented a white pelong handkerchief; at the same time delivering into the Lama's hands, the governor's present of a string of pearls and coral, while the other things were set down before him. Having performed the ceremony of the exchange of

handkerchiefs with the father and mother, the English gentlemen took their seats on the right of Teeshoo Lama.

A multitude of persons, who had been ordered to escort Mr. Turner, were admitted to the Lama's presence, and allowed to make their prostrations.

The infant Lama turned toward the gentlemen, and received them all with a cheerful and significant look of complacency. His father then addressed Mr. Turner in the Tibet language, which the interpreter explained to be, that "Teeshoo Lama had been accustomed to remain at rest until that time of the day, but he had awoke very early that morning, and could not be prevailed upon to remain longer in bed; for," added he, "the English gentlemen were arrived, and he could not sleep." Mr. Turner proceeds in his narrative as follows: "During the time we were in the room, I observed the Lama's eyes were scarcely ever turned from us, and when our cups were empty of tea, he appeared uneasy, throwing back his head, and, contracting the skin of his brow, he kept making a noise, for he could not speak, until they were filled again. He took out of a golden cup, containing confections, some burnt sugar, and, stretching out his arm, made a motion to his attendants to give them to me; he sent some, in like manner, to Mr. Saunders, who was with me. I found myself, although visiting an infant, under the necessity of saying something, for it was hinted to me, that, notwithstanding he was
unable.

unable to reply, it was not to be inferred that he could not understand; however his incapacity of answering excused me from delivering many words, and I just briefly said, that the governor-general, on receiving news of his decease in China, was overwhelmed with grief and sorrow, and continued to lament his absence from the world, until the cloud that had overcast the happiness of this nation was dispelled by his re-appearance, and then, if possible, a greater degree of joy had taken place than he had experienced of grief on receiving the first mournful news. The governor wished he might long continue to illumine the world with his presence, and was hopeful that the friendship which had formerly subsisted between them would not be diminished, but rather that it might become still greater than before, and that by continuing to shew kindness to my countrymen, there might be an extensive communication between his votaries and the dependants of the British nation. The little creature turned, looking steadfastly toward me with the appearance of much attention whilst I spoke, and nodded with repeated but slow movements of the head, as though he understood and approved every word, but could not utter a reply. The parents who stood by all the time, eyed their son with a look of affection, and a smile expressive of heart-felt joy, at the propriety of the young Lama's conduct. His whole regard was turned to us; he was silent and sedate; never once looking toward his parents, as if under their

influence at the time ; and with whatever pains his manners may have been formed to be so correct, yet I must own his behaviour on this occasion appeared perfectly natural and spontaneous, and not directed by any action or sign of authority."

"The scene in which I was here brought to take a part," continues Mr. Turner, "was too new and extraordinary, however trivial, if not absurd it may appear to some, not to claim from me great attention, and consequently minute remark." " "

It has been already said that Teeshoo Lama was at that time eighteen months old. Mr. Turner describes him as conducting himself with astonishing dignity and decorum, without speaking a word. His complexion of that hue which in England would be rather termed brown, but not without colour ; his features good, small black eyes, and an animated expression of countenance ; and he thought him, altogether, one of the handsomest children he had ever seen. Mr. T. had but little conversation with the father, but was told by him that he (the father) was directed to entertain the embassy three days on account of Teeshoo Lama, and entreated him, with great earnestness, to pass another on his own account, which was complied with.

In the afternoon the ambassador was visited by two officers of the Lama's household. They observed how extremely fortunate it was that the young Lama regarded Mr. Turner with such very particular

particular notice, and that the former Teeshoo Lama had a very strong partiality for the English.

On the morning of the sixth our ambassador again waited on Teeshoo Lama to present some curiosities. The dignified infant was very much struck with a small clock, and had it held to him, watching, for a long time, the revolutions of the moment hand. He admired it with gravity, and without any childish emotion. Mr. Turner stayed there about half an hour.

The votaries of the Lama already began to flock in numbers to pay their adorations to him, but few had the honour of being admitted to his presence. It is considered as a happiness if this sacred personage is even shewn to them from the window, and they are enabled to make their prostrations before he is removed. That same day a party of kilmaas (Calmuc Tartars) came for purposes of devotion, and to make their offerings to the Lama. When Mr. Turner returned from visiting him, he saw these people standing at the entrance of the square, at the front of the palace, each with his cap off; his hands clasped together, elevated, and held even with his face. They remained upward of half an hour in this attitude; their eyes fixed upon the apartments of the Lama, and anxiety very visibly depicted in their countenances. Our author supposes that at length the object of their veneration appeared to them; for one and all, at the same time, began to lift up their hands, still closed, above

their heads, then bringing them even with their faces, and, after lowering them to their breasts, then separating them, to be assistant in sinking and rising, they dropped upon their knees, and struck their heads against the ground. This, with the same motions, was repeated nine times. They afterward advanced to deliver their presents, consisting of talents of gold and silver, with the productions of their country, to the proper officer, who having received them, they retired with much apparent satisfaction.

These offerings are frequently made, and, in reality, constitute one of the most copious sources whence the Lamas of Tibet derive their wealth.

The persons who were seen to perform this act of homage were attendants on a man of superior rank, and he himself seemed to be more engrossed than the rest in the performance of these ceremonies: he wore a rich satin garment, lined with fox-skins, and a cap with a tassel of scarlet silk, flowing from the centre of the crown upon the sides all round, and edged with a broad band of Siberian fur.

Mr. T. made a third visit to the Lama, and then received his dispatches for the governor, with many compliments. At which time he was presented with a vest lined with lamb's skin: he likewise received the handkerchiefs.

In the beginning of the year 1785, the governor-general again addressed a letter to the Lama, which he entrusted to a native of Bengal named Poorungeer;

geer, but his rank and station are not described. Early in the month of April he had passed the limits of the company's provinces, and arrived at the mountains which constitute the kingdom of Bootan. He then came to the borders of Tibet, at Phari, where he was detained a considerable time by a heavy fall of snow, and the cold was so intense as to be almost insupportable to an inhabitant of the south; but a change of weather enabled him to continue his journey.

On the 18th of May he reached Teeshoo Loomboo, the capital of Tibet, to which place the infant pontiff had been removed. He was introduced to the Lama (then only three years old) early in the morning, when he was walking in the garden, under the shade of spreading trees, the weather at that season being the warmest of any in the year at Tibet, where the succession from cold to heat appears to be very rapid. He delivered the usual present of a handkerchief, and a letter from the governor, which the Lama took, breaking the seal himself, and taking from under the cover a string of pearls which it enclosed, ran them over between his fingers, as they read their rosaries, and then with an arch air placed them by his side, nor would, whilst the interview continued, allow any one to take them up. The young Lama spoke to him in the Tibet language. Poorungeer, when about to depart, approached the Lama, and bowing before him, presented his head uncovered to receive his blessing, which he gave, by stretching out his hand and laying it upon

his head; then ordered him to come to him every day so long as he remained at Tibet. The infant Lama had been inaugurated the preceding year. As this is held to be a most essential act of religion, the ceremonials which accompany it are continued several days, and consist in a variety of very pompous rites. The emperor of China appears upon this occasion to have assumed a very conspicuous part in giving testimony of his respect and zeal for this sublime object of his faith and veneration.

The 28th day of the seventh moon, in the year 1784, corresponding nearly, as their year commences with the vernal equinox, to the middle of October, was chosen, as the most auspicious for the ceremony of inauguration.

The Lama being safely lodged in the palace, his great officers went out, as is a customary compliment paid to visitors of high rank on their near approach, to meet and conduct Dalai Lama and the viceroy of Lassa, who were on their way to Teeshoo Loomboq. The three next days Dalai Lama met Teeshoo Lama in the great temple, with which worship the rites of inauguration terminated. The particulars of this pompous exhibition are given in the first volume of Asiatic Researches, page 209 to 220.

The account which Mr. Turner here gives of the journey made by Poorungeer to Tibet, appears, in one particular, to differ from the former accounts which have been given by Tavernier, Grueber, and others,

others, in speaking of the supreme Lama by the name of Teeshoo, and the personage whom he calls Dalai Lama he represents as coming from a distant country to assist at the inauguration of the infant Lama; in other respects it seems to confirm the former accounts in every material point.

• The Kalka Mongals, whose country is situated to the N. of China, have likewise a great high priest which is called *Kutuchu*, and the notions entertained concerning him are exactly similar to those which are held in Tibet respecting the grand Lama; but some kind of subordination in the former to the latter is acknowledged even by the Mongal devotees,

CHAP. V.

THE MOGUL EMPIRE.

THIS once extensive, populous, powerful, and celebrated empire, although at present entirely subverted, yet constitutes a very interesting subject for oriental history. The court of the prince, who was known in Europe by the title of "the Great Mogul," was splendid beyond rivalry, even amidst Eastern grandeur. There magnificence was displayed to the fullest degree that human pride and human ingenuity, assisted by a profusion of every species of dazzling wealth, employed under the most propitious climate, to gratify the most luxurious habits, could supply. The city of Delhi, the residence of the emperor, was of vast extent, and its riches countless; for hither the contributions, which were drawn from the widely extended provinces of the empire, were continually flowing.

Various are the names by which the country forming this empire was known; such as India, Mogulstan, Indostan, Hindostan, and Hindooistan. Its extent and boundaries, when at the height of power, may be laid down from thirty-five degrees to nineteen degrees N. latitude, and from sixty-eight degrees

gress to ninety-two degrees E. longitude. Bounded on the W. by the Indus, on the E. by the Ganges; northward by Calhmere, and the chain of mountains which stretch along Lahore; southward by the Decan, or Deccan, and Golconda; including a vast extent of country, populous, fertile, highly cultivated, and abounding with manufactures.

The conquest of India by Sesostris king of Egypt, as related by Diodorus Siculus, lib. i. has been decided upon as fabulous by the judicious Strabo, who denies that Sesostris ever set foot in India. Darius Hystaspes, after he had obtained the throne of Persia, allured by the opulent state of India, invaded it on the western border, and exacted a heavy tribute, which probably continued to be paid no longer than during his reign.

About a century and half afterward, Alexander the Great undertook his celebrated expedition into India, but the progress made either by the Persian or the Greek conqueror appears to have been little farther than along the western shore of the Indus, and the banks of the Ganges towards its source.

When Alexander undertook his expedition into India, the powerful empire which afterward arose there was not established, but the country consisted of several independent and extensive monarchies. After the death of Alexander, the conquests which he had made in India continued under the dominion of the Macedonians, being first governed by Pytho and afterward by Seleucus. Soon after the

the death of the latter, which was about two hundred and fifty years before the Christian æra, Dr. Robinson supposes the Macedonians were compelled to abandon their possessions in India. *Historical Disquisition concerning Ancient India*, p. 33.

Some Greeks however still retained the kingdom of Bactria, and even extended their conquests very considerably. There were six princes who at one time reigned in Bactria, some of whom were distinguished by the title of "the Great King;" a mark of pre-eminence assumed by the monarchs of Persia when inflated by the plenitude of power. At length these potent princes were overwhelmed by a vast body of Tartars, which poured in upon them from the North, and the dominion of the Greeks in India was entirely subverted.

With their expulsion all knowledge of the internal state of the country was entirely lost, during the vast space of sixteen centuries. It was not until the Portuguese became acquainted with India, by sailing round the southern point of Africa, and boldly adventuring across the Indian ocean, that any knowledge of the history of India was obtained in Europe; although the spices, silks, porcelaine, pearls, and diamonds, which it yielded, had been obtained in all ages. Since the commerce of the East has been transferred successively to the maritime nations possessing the western coasts of Europe, the history of the powerful empires which occupy those regions has been gradually developed. Concerning many of these

these countries, the Romish missionaries have given very copious information; but of the empire we are now to describe, the researches of English gentlemen, who have been long resident in some of its parts, have furnished the most full and satisfactory accounts; who, amidst commercial pursuits or military occupations, have found leisure to gratify a taste for literature, in a manner the most useful and laudable. Of these the indefatigable and discerning major Rennell has taken, beyond compare, the most extensive survey of the face of the country, and of its general history: he has, indeed, rendered Englishmen as well acquainted with the empire of Hindoostan, as with that of Great Britain. From the general mass of information the following sketch has been made.

That Mahomedan government, which afterward extended itself to Hindoostan, arose at first from a very small beginning among the mountains which divide Persia from India. The Afghans, or Patans, a warlike race of men, who had been subjects of the vast empire of Boehara, revolted under their governor Abstagi, in the fourth century of the Higera, or tenth of the Christian æra, and laid the foundation of the empire of Ghizni or Gazna.

The Afghans were divided into distinct communities, each of which was governed by a prince, who was considered by his subjects as the chief of their blood as well as their sovereign. They obeyed him without reluctance, as they derived credit to their family by his greatness. They attended him in his

Wars

wars with the attachment which children have to a parent; and his government, though severe, partook more of the rigid discipline of a general, than of the caprice of a despot. Rude, like the face of their country, and fierce and wild as the storms which covered their mountains, they were addicted to incursions and depredations, and delighted in battle and plunder. United firmly to their friends in war, to their enemies faithless and cruel, they placed justice in force, and concealed treachery under the name of address. *Dew's History: Dissertation prefixed to Vol. III. pag. xi.*

Under a succession of warlike Patan princes, this empire rose to a surprising magnitude. In the beginning of the fifth century of the Higeras, it extended from Ipahan to Bengal, and from the mouths of the Indus to the banks of the Jaxertes; which comprehends half of the great continent of Asia.

The Charizman empire, which arose on the confines of Persia and Great Tartary, circumscribed the kings of the Ghiznian Patans toward the north, and obliged them to transfer the seat of their empire to Lahore, and afterward to Delhi. Zingis Chan, who subverted the Charizmian empire, further reduced the emperor's dominions, which became entirely confined within the limits of Hindoostan. Amir Timur, or Tamerlane, a Tartarian emperor, distinguished for extensive and rapid conquests, invaded Hindoostan, A. D. 1397, and committed numberless acts of cruelty. In one day he caused all his prisoners,

prisoners, amounting to one hundred thousand, to be massacred in cold blood; which execrable deed was only a prelude to the slaughter which ensued upon taking of Delhi. The conqueror, however, contented himself with reducing the emperor to a tributary dependence upon him, and evacuated the country. From him the natives gave the country the name of *Mogulstan*, and the missionaries have denominated it "the empire of the Great Mogul," the throne having been long held by descendants from Tamerlane, who was a Mogul Tartar.

In the beginning of the sixteenth century, Baber, a descendant of Tamerlane, possessed himself of the imperial dignity, and became emperor of Mogul. This prince was the wonder of the age in which he lived; he ascended the Tartarian throne when only twelve years of age, and, with various turns of fortune, reigned thirty-eight years. He was generous and humane, a patron of learned men, and himself a scholar; he wrote his own commentaries in the Mogul language, which are universally admired. In a military capacity he was equalled by very few; he rendered the most daring enterprizes easy by his undaunted courage and perseverance, which rose above all difficulties, and made him much more the object of admiration in his adversity, than in the height of his prosperity. Nor did he forget himself in the latter, but always behaved with that moderation and equanimity which characterizes a great soul. But, notwithstanding a considerable part of his life was spent in the field, he found intervals in which he gratified

gratified his passion for wine, women, and all the delights of courts. When disposed to give himself up to pleasure, he used to cause a fountain to be filled with wine, upon which was inscribed a verse to this effect, "Jovial days! blooming springs! old wine and young maidens! enjoy freely, O Baber, for life is not twice to be enjoyed." He died A. D. 1530. Humaicoon, the son of this great man, reigned about twelve years, when he was dethroned, and obliged to seek safety by retiring into Persia. Shere Shaw, an Afghan prince, then ascended the throne in 1542; but Humaicoon recovered the kingdom of Hindoostan twelve years afterward, during which period three more Patan princes had successively reigned. The empire, on the restoration of Humaicoon, was again transferred from the Afghans to the Moguls. Mahummet Akbar succeeded his father on the throne, A. D. 1555, when he was only fourteen years of age. He was the sixth in descent from Tamerlane; contemporary with Shah Abas, king of Persia, surnamed "The Great," with Elizabeth queen of England, and Henry IV. of France: four other such illustrious contemporary sovereigns history perhaps does not exhibit. The reign of this prince has been very elaborately written by his vizier Abul Fazil, except the two last years of it, the author having been cut off by russians in the year 1603. The encomiums he pays the prince his master, are dictated in the most sublime style of oriental adulation; but neither that, nor the violent death which overtook him, can support a suspicion that he was a gross flatterer

instead

instead of a faithful historian; for the memory of Akbar has been transmitted from age to age with the highest renown. This valuable piece of history has been lately translated into English by Mr. Gladwin. In the reign of Akbar, the empire of Hindoostan was divided into twelve Soobahs, or vice-royalties. The internal regulation of the empire was much attended to by this prince. Inquiries were set on foot, by which the revenues, population, produce, religion, arts, and commerce of each district were ascertained, as well as its extent and relative position. Many of these interesting and useful particulars were, by Abul Fazel, collected into a book, called, "the Ayin Akbaree," or, Institutes of Akbar, which to this day forms an authentic register of these matters. "Akbar," says major Rennell, "began by dividing Hindoostan proper into eleven Soobahs or provinces, some of which were in extent equal to large European kingdoms. The soubahs were again divided into circars, and these subdivided into purgunnahs; resembling provinces, counties, and hundreds, as few circars are of less extent than the largest English counties. The names of the eleven soubahs were Lahore, Moultan (including Sindy), Agimere, Delhi, Agra, Oude, Allahabad, Bahar, Bengal, Malioa, and Guzerat: a 12th, viz. Cubal, was formed out of the countries contiguous to the western sources of the Indus, and included Candahar and Ghizni; three additional ones were erected after the conquests in the Deccan, viz. Berah, Candeish, and Amednagur." *Memoir of a Map,*

Introd. cx. It is said that this prince, who possessed strong natural endowments, and a great thirst for knowledge, was extremely desirous of being informed concerning the various religions which prevailed in the world: a Portuguese missionary instructed him in the religion of the church of Rome, called Christianity; an account of all the other systems of religion which prevailed in the world was easily obtained, except that of his ~~own~~ subjects, the Hindoos, who, as they admit no proselytes, scrupulously conceal the articles of their faith, and even the language of their scriptures. By the help of his minister Abul Fazel, a youth was imposed upon a Brahmin, as an orphan of that tribe, and was sent to their seminary of learning at Benares to be instructed in the sacred language and mysteries of the Hindoos' religion, for the purpose of imparting them, when acquired, to the emperor; but the youth, when qualified for the task assigned him, was so struck with horror at the intended profanation, that he discovered the whole design to his foster-father, and the emperor remained ignorant of this mysterious faith to the day of his death. He reigned fifty-one years, (dying A. D. 1606,) in which time the wealth and consequence of his kingdom rose to an height before unknown. Upon the death of Akbar, his son Selim ascended the throne in Agra, who assumed the title of Jahangire; he reigned twenty-two years, and dying, Shah Jehan obtained the Musnud, who, after a reign of thirty-two years, was deposed by his third son the famous Aurengzebe;

or

Or Aurungzebe, who murdered or banished his two brothers, and took the name of Allumguire in 1659.

To Aurungzebe, or Allumgive, business was an amusement: he added to an extensive knowledge of the affairs of the empire, an unremitting application. He punished judges severely for corruption and partiality. His penetrating eye followed oppression to its most secret retreats, and his stern justice established tranquillity, and secured property over all his extensive dominions.

During the first nineteen years of his reign a profound peace prevailed throughout his extensive empire, which at length became interrupted by the attempts of the emperor to subdue the Deccan, an extensive country in the middle of the Indian peninsula, which after a severe conflict he nearly effected; but this acquisition proved the downfall of the empire to his successors. The enemy which alone was capable of opposing him in the field was Sevagee, who had acquired an extensive territory in those parts, and became the founder of the Mahratta power. He dying in 1680, his son Sambajee, who succeeded him, was betrayed into the hands of Aurungzebe, who put him to death.

That part of his conduct which reflected the greatest disgrace from his reign, was the severe persecution which he carried on against the Hindoos. The Rajpoot tribes in Agimere, irritated by the insults offered to their religion, rose in arms, and the emperor in person led an army against them; in which expedition he was enclosed among the moun-

tains, and narrowly escaped being made prisoner with all his troops: his empress was captured, but not detained. Notwithstanding, after this, in 1661, he took and destroyed Clitoré, the famous capital of the Rana; he likewise destroyed all the objects of Hindoo worship found there; yet the spirits of these intrepid people remained invincible, and Aurungzebe found it necessary to conclude a peace. There is a letter extant written by Jeswont Sing, Rajah of Joudipoor, to the emperor, which has been translated by sir Charles Boughton Rouse, and is inserted in Mr. Orme's *Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire*, note 49; it expostulates with the emperor on the unjust measures he was pursuing with respect to the Hindoos. "This letter," says major Rennell, "breathes the most perfect spirit of philanthropy, and of toleration in matters of religion, together with the most determined resolution, to oppose the meditated attack on the civil and religious rights of the Hindoos." *Memoir of a Map. Introduct. p. lxii. Note.*

This renowned emperor died 1707, in the ninetyeth year of his age, at Amednagur, in the Deccan.

"Under his reign," says major Rennell, "the empire attained its full measure of extent. His authority reached from the tenth to the thirty-fifth degree of latitude; and nearly as much in longitude. His revenue exceeded thirty-two millions of pounds sterling, in a country where the products of the earth are about four times as cheap as in England. But so weighty a sceptre could only be wielded by
a hand

a hand like Aurungzebe's; and we accordingly find, that in a course of fifty years after his death, a succession of weak princes and wicked ministers reduced this astonishing empire to nothing."

The following letter which Aurengzebe (or, according to Rennell, Aurungzebe) wrote to his second son Azim (called by major Rennell, Azem) may serve as a striking and salutary lesson to ambitious princes. It is preserved in the *Memoirs of Eradut Khan*, a nobleman in the court of Aurungzebe, who wrote in the Persian language. A translation of these memoirs by captain Scott, was published in 1786, and which is now prefixed to his History of the Decan from Ferishta's original, in 2 vols. 4to.

TO SHAW AZIM SHAIR.

"Health to thee; my heart is near thee; old age has arrived; weakness subdues me; and strength has forsaken all my members. I came a stranger into this world, and a stranger I depart. I know nothing of myself, what I am, and for what I am destined. The instant I passed in power has left me only sorrow behind it. I have not been the guardian and protector of the empire: my valuable time has been passed vainly. I had a patron in my own dwelling (conscience), but his glorious light was unseen by my dim sight. Life is not lasting, there is no vestige of departed breath, and all hopes of futurity are lost. The fever has left me, but nothing of me remains but skin and bone. My son (Käun

Bulsh), though gone toward Bejapore, is still near; and thou, my son, art still nearer. The worthy, the esteemed Shah Ausum, is far distant, and my grandson Aztem Oosraun, by the orders of God, is arrived near Hindostan. The camp and followers, helpless and alarmed, are, like myself, full of agitation; restless as the quicksilver; separated from their Lord, they know not whether they have a master or not.

I brought nothing into this world, and, except the infirmities of man, carry nothing out. I have a dread of my salvation, and with what torments I may be punished. Though I have strong reliance on the mercies and bounty of God, yet, regarding my actions, fear will not quit me; but when I am gone, reflection will not remain. Come then what may; I have launched my vessel to the waves. Though Providence will protect the camp, yet, regarding appearances, the endeavours of my sons are indispensably incumbent. Give my last prayers to my grandson (Bedar Bakht), whom I cannot see. But the desire affects me. The Begum (his daughter) appears afflicted; but God is the only judge of hearts. The foolish thoughts of women produce nothing but disappointment. Farewell! Farewell! Farewell!"

To the prince Kaun Bulsh, his third son (mentioned in the foregoing) he wrote at the same time, and much in the same strain. In it he makes use of this strong expression: "The fever which troubled

bled me for twelve days has left me. Wherever I look I see nothing but the Divinity."

The accounts which are given by colonel Dow, together with other writers, and those by major Rennell, concerning the affairs of the empire during the ~~life-time~~ of Aurengzebe's sons, differ in a variety of particulars: the latter writer is chiefly followed here.

His sons were, Mauzum, who became emperor, under the title of Bahader Shah, (or Shaw) Azim, Kaun Bulsh, and Acbar: the latter had engaged in a rebellion during his father's reign, and fled to Persia, which accounts for his not being mentioned in the emperor's farewell letter. The contest for power, when Aurengzebe resigned his breath, first arose between Behader Shah and his next brother Azim. The armies which they commanded, for the purpose of deciding this mighty contest, are said to have consisted of about 300,000 men each (*Rennell, Introd.* lxiv.) a battle was fought near Agra, in which Azim was slain. Bahader Shah is described, by some writers, as a prince of considerable ability, and great attention to business; but the distracted state of public affairs, and the short interval which elapsed between the death of Azim and the appearance of his next brother, Kaun Bulsh, in arms to dispute with him the empire, caused his government to be imbecile and inefficient, although the death of this competitor suppressed that commotion. He died in 1712, as some writers assert, of discontent and grief; chiefly brought on by the restless ambition of his

own sons. He left four, each of whom, on their father's death, seized upon what he could most readily acquire. Aziem Ooshaun, the second, obtained the treasures, but he was presently slain: the youngest, Jehaun Shah, fell in the next battle. The contest then lay between Jehaunder Shah, the eldest, and Bedur Bakht, the third, which was decided in favour of the former through the intrigues of Zoofecar Khan, an omrah of vast influence. No sooner were Jehaunder's apprehensions of rivalry buried in his brothers' graves, than, agreeable to the general practice of these voluptuous Asiatics, he abandoned himself wholly to the pleasures of the seraglio; but a revolution, brought about by Houffsein Ali Khan and Abdoolah Khan, brothers, and omrahs of great power, placed Ferokfere, or Furrukhsir, son of the deceased Aziem Ooshaun on the musnud. This event took place nine months after the elevation of Jehaunder, according to Rennell; others say eighteen months.

Furrukhsir was now declared emperor; but whilst he was invested with the external appendages of rule, the omrahs, who were the means of his advancement, reserved to themselves every essential act of power. The emperor, dissatisfied at being made the mere stalking-horse of state, meditated revenge; which, according to the pusillanimous malignity which stamps the genius of this people, is among them always hidden and perfidious. The nobles were apprised of his intentions, and by superior address counteracted his designs, and caused him

to

to be strangled; at the same time raising Raffael al Dirjaat, or Ruffieh-ul-Dirjat (a prince seventeen years old, a grandson of Bahader Shah) to the throne; but finding that they had mistaken the genius of this youth, they took him off by poison, and advanced his elder brother Raffael al Dowlat, or Ruffieh-ul-Dowlat, to the same dignity. All these transactions happened in the course of the year 1717.

It was in the reign of Ferokhsere that the English East India company obtained the famous FIRMÁN, or grant, by which their goods of export and import were exempted from duties or customs; and this was regarded as the company's commercial charter in India, while they stood in need of protection from the princes of the country. *Rennell*, p. lxvi.

The exclusive power assumed by these lords in consequence of their creation and destruction of princes, became intolerable to such great families as were not included in their junto: these united, and, in order to colour over their proceedings, undertook to release Nicosir, a prince of the blood-royal, from a forty years imprisonment in the castle of Agra, and to make him king; but this attempt terminated in their defeat; and the unhappy prince, who was drawn in by the ambition of others to bear a part in the insurrection, was deprived of sight, and delivered over to his former confinement. He soon after died a natural death at Delhi, 1719. The same great ~~emirs~~ ^{emirs} maintaining their influence, caused Mahomed Shah, another grandson of Bahader Shah, to be proclaimed emperor; who, in a short time, by

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an adroit exercise of his power, effected the destruction of the principal family whose influence had advanced himself and so many of his predecessors, to the Musnud. The two brothers, who had been the principals in bringing about these successions, were defeated and slain; and the emperor found himself actually a sovereign. Too weak to withstand the seductions of unbounded power; he gave himself up to the most criminal excesses; grew quite regardless of the welfare of his kingdom; and permitted the most destructive enormities to be practised with impunity. The distracted state of the kingdom induced Nadir Shah, at the instigation of Nizam-al-Muluck, viceroy of the Deccan, who was then ninety-four years of age, to invade it in 1738. The Nizam died in 1748, at the great age of one hundred and four years. An account of which invasion will be given in the Persian history.

The cruelties committed by this invader, in the city of Delhi and its environs, cannot fail to excite horror in the most insensible breast. The slightest tumult or commotion among the inhabitants, when starving for want of provisions, produced orders for a promiscuous carnage. Mr. Dow relates, that in one day, in consequence of an officer being killed by the side of Nadir Shah by a musket-shot, one hundred thousand, without distinction of age, sex, or condition, were laid dead in their blood. "Such was the panic-terror and confusion of these poor wretches," continues he, "that instead of bravely opposing."

opposing death, the men threw down their arms, and with their wives and children submitted themselves like sheep to the slaughter. One Persian soldier often butchered a whole family, without meeting with any resistance. The Hindoos, according to their barbarous custom, shut up their wives and children, and set fire to their apartments, and then threw themselves into the flames; "death," continues the same author, "was seen in every horrid shape; and at last seemed rather to be sought after than avoided." This massacre was succeeded by a general plunder of the city; the public treasury and regalia being first secured. The throne of the emperor, known throughout Hindostan by the name of "Tukhté-Taoos," or "the peacock throne," which was valued at ten crores of rupees, or about twelve millions and an half sterling, together with the other regalia, treasures, and valuables, amounting to no less than from seventy to eighty millions sterling, were all transferred to the conqueror. Great cruelties were exercised in extorting a discovery of concealed wealth. The damage done to the capital and the surviving inhabitants, on this occasion, was prodigious.

Ruin and desolation being spread over the city, the conqueror thought this a suitable season for celebrating the nuptials of his son Mirza Nasir Ali with the daughter of Ezidan Bush, grandson of the famous Aurengzebe; during which transaction the gates of the city were kept shut. Famine began to rage every day more and more, but the Shah was

deaf

deaf to the miseries of mankind. The public spirit of Tucki, a famous actor, deserves to be recorded upon this occasion. He exhibited a play before Nadir Shah, with which that monarch was so well pleased, that he commanded Tucki to ask what he wished should be done for him; Tucki fell on his face and said, "O king, command the gates of this city to be opened, that the poor may not perish." His request was granted, and half the city poured into the country, and was plentifully supplied, in a few days, with provisions.

The king of Persia having obtained all the money which could be procured in Delhi, after reinstating Mahommed Shah in the empire with great solemnity and pomp, returned into his own country. A general defection of the provinces soon after ensued; none were willing to yield obedience to a prince deprived of the power to enforce it. The provinces to the north-west of the Indus had been ceded to Nadir Shah, who being assassinated in 1747, Achmet Abdalla, his treasurer, a man of great intrepidity, who, like most other Asiatic chieftains, knew no restraints from the dictates of conscience, when occasions for grasping at power, however dishonourable, presented themselves, in the general confusion occasioned by the tyrant's death, found means to carry off three hundred camels loaded with wealth, which enabled him to assume a sovereignty, and he actually became king of Candahar; after which he put himself at the head of an army, and marched against Delhi, having fifty thousand horse at his command.

command. Thus was the wealth drawn from Delhi made the means of continuing those miseries of war which it had at first brought upon them. The afflicted Delhians were struck with an universal panic. Ahmed Shah, the prince royal, Kimmer ul Daul the vizier, with other leading men, in this extremity, took the field with eighty thousand horse, to oppose the invader. The war was carried on with various success, and before its termination, Mahommed Shah deceased, A. D. 1747, in the same year as his cruel conqueror, Nadir Shah. Ahmed Shah, the son of Mahommed, then mounted the imperial throne at Delhi. The empire grew every day more into decay. The Mah-rattas, a warlike nation, possessing the western peninsula of India, had, before the invasion of Nadir Shah, exacted a chout, or tribute, from the empire, arising out of the revenues of the Bengal province, which being withheld, in consequence of the enfeebled state of the empire, they became clamorous. The empire began to totter to its foundation; every petty chief, by counterfeiting grants from Delhi, laid claim to jaghiers and to districts. The country was rent and defaced by civil wars, and groaned under every species of domestic confusion. Villainy was practised in every form; all law and religion were trodden under foot; the bands of private friendship and connections, as well as of society and government, were broken; and every individual, as if among a forest of wild beasts, could rely upon nothing but the strength of his own arm.

Ahmed

Ahmed Shah reigned only seven years, being deposed, in 1753, by Gazi, an omrah of great capacity and power; who set Allumguire, a lineal descendant from Aurengzebe, as a nominal emperor, upon the throne, whom for that purpose he had released from confinement. The emperor finding himself destitute of the authority properly annexed to his dignity, determined at any rate to destroy the influence of Gazi; for which purpose he invited Abdalla to support him on the throne: which produced such consequences as the calling in a foreign hostile power to adjust civil dissensions has ever done. The Persian, after seizing upon every thing valuable which he could procure, retired, and left Allumguire to weep over his exhausted treasures. At length, Gazi seeing no means of maintaining his authority whilst the king lived, by a stratagem caused him to be assassinated. A. D. 1760.

The factions among the great, which rose on the death of the emperor, left the country exposed to a fresh invasion from Abdalla: this was the sixth time he had entered it. He once more laid the city of Delhi under heavy contributions, and enforced the collection with such rigour and cruelty, that the unfortunate inhabitants, driven to despair, took up arms. The Persian, on this, ordered a general massacre, which, without intermission, lasted for several days. A great part of the buildings were at the same time reduced to ashes, and many thousands, who had escaped the sword, suffered a lingering death by famine, sitting upon the smoking ruins of ~~their~~

their own houses. Thus the imperial city of Delhi, which in the days of its glory extended itself seventeen crores, or coos, or about thirty-four miles in length, and was said to contain two millions of people, became almost an heap of rubbish. Abdalla now, considering himself arbiter of the fate of Hindostan, marched against the Mahrattas, who alone obstructed his views. These had created Jewan Bucht, then thirteen years of age, grandson of Al-lumgire, and son of Shah Aulum, emperor. Abdalla defeated these people in a decisive battle, in which the Mahomedan force is said to have amounted to 150,000 men, and the army of the Mahrattas to 200,000: the records of Hindooftan do not take notice of any action so obstinate and bloody as this. The conqueror then confirmed the young Jewan Bucht on the throne, now circumscribed in authority to the provinces of Delhi. He previously invited the father of this youth to Delhi, promising to seat him on the throne of his ancestors; but Shah Al-lum, who was then in Bahar, did not choose to put himself in the power of this maker of emperors. After the departure of Abdalla, Shah Allum made several unsuccessful attempts to engage the English in his interests. At length, says Mr. Bolts, after experiencing various calamities, the English company condescended to create him their Great Mogul. *Dow's History of Hindostan. Holwell's Interesting Events, part I. Bolts's Considerations.*

"The provinces of Agra and Delhi, and that whole neighbourhood," says major Rennell, "are in the

most wretched state that can be conceived. Having been the seat of wars for more than fifty years, the country is almost depopulated, and most of the lands of course are lying waste; the wretched inhabitants, not daring to provide more than the bare means of subsistence, for fear of attracting the notice of those whose trade is pillage. Nothing but the natural fertility of the soil, and the mildness of the climate, could have kept up any degree of population, and rendered the sovereignty of it at this day worth contending for. So that a tract of country which possesses every advantage that can be derived from nature, contains the most miserable inhabitants: so dearly do mankind pay for the ambition of their superiors, who, miscalculating their powers, think they can govern as much as they can conquer. In the Mogul empire many parts of it were a thousand miles distant from the seat of government; and accordingly its history is one continued lesson to kings not to grasp at too much dominion; and to mankind to circumscribe the undertakings of their rulers." *Introd.* lxxviii.

When the English acknowledged Shah Allum to be the nominal emperor of Hindoostan, they assigned the city of Allahabad for the place of his residence; but the descendant of Timur could ill brook his mock elevation, he was restless to possess the capital city of his ancestors, sunk as it was. After residing six years at Allahabad, he renounced the protection of the English to obtain that of the Mah-rattas, induced to this conduct by the assurances he had

had received from them, of being seated on the throne of Delhi. But the views of those people were merely to make him the instrument of their own aggrandizement, and such consequences it became essentially necessary for the British government to prevent; they therefore revoked all the grants which they had made to *their* emperor. Whilst in this unprovided state, he went to Delhi, where he lived upon a very scanty allowance. His wants, however, became so pressing, that his son Jewan Buckt applied to Mr. Hastings when at Oude, in 1784, to solicit assistance from the English on his father's account: how far he proved successful we are not informed. This governor-general of Bengal, when solicited by a prince of the ancient and august house of Timur, for a charitable contribution to support an emperor of that house, could have no insight into the reverse of fortune which awaited himself, when, in his own country, he should stand before the highest tribunal there, a prisoner, to answer numerous and heavy accusations!

Recent accounts from India have made us acquainted with the melancholy end of this unfortunate emperor. The Rohilla chief, Golar Cawdir, having taken possession of Delhi in the year 1789, put out the eyes of Shah Allum, who soon after suffered an excruciating death. *Rennell, 365.*

Having spoken of the extent and wealth of Delhi, curiosity will certainly be gratified by giving some general description of that renowned city.

DELHI, the capital of the province of the same name, is situated in seventy-nine degrees E. longitude from London, and in twenty-eight degrees N. latitude, and stands on the river Jemma, which divides it into two parts: that last built was erected by Shah Jehan, and from the founder was called Jehanabad; but the Europeans give to both the common name of Delhi. In the part built by that emperor, all the houses enclosed spacious courts, and in the inner part of these buildings the people lodged, to prevent any from approaching the place appointed for their women. Most of the great men had houses without the city, on account of the convenience of the waters.

The entrance into the city was by a long street, on each side of which were regular arches, under which the merchants had their shops. This street led to the palace, which was above a mile and an half in circumference. The wall was built of hewn stone, with battlements, and at every tenth battlement was a tower.

The extensive stables which were attached to this palace, whilst the splendour of the Mogul was at its height, were always filled with the finest horses, in which the monarch took great delight; these were brought from Arabia, Persia, and Tartary, at a great expence. Before every stable-door hung a kind of mat made of reeds, and bound together with silk, twisted in the form of flowers. These were intended to prevent the flies from entering; but they were not

not satisfied with this precaution; every horse having two grooms, who relieved one another, and fanned the animal continually. All the day they had carpets over them, and at night they lay upon a litter made of their own dung, dried in the sun, and well pounded.

The other public buildings in this city were, a great mosque, which had several fine marble domes; and a noble caravansera, built by a Mogul prince, for the accommodation of strangers. .

In modern times no instance occurs of devastation brought on a magnificent city equal to that which overwhelmed Delhi; and perhaps in wealth it was superior to the boasted cities of antiquity, whose ancient grandeur is yet to be traced in their stupendous ruins. During the latter part of the last century, it is reported to have contained two millions of inhabitants. Nadir Shah is supposed to have plundered it of sixty-two millions sterling; and even after that, ample gleanings accrued to Abdalla.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF EMPERORS

Who have reigned in HINDOOSTAN since the Ghiznian conquest.

*(From the third Edition of Major RENNELL's Memoir of a Map.)

	Began his reign		Began his reign
* Mahmoed I.	A. D. 1000	Mahomed IV.	A. D. 1389
Mahomed I.	1028	Abu-Bicker	
Muhammad I.	1041	† Mahmoed III.	1393
Muhammad		Dynasty of the SEIYS.	
Muhammad II.	1051	Chizer	1414
Ali	1051	Mubarrick II.	1421
Refchid	1052	Mahomed V.	1433
Feroch Zaad	1056	Alla II.	1447
Ibrahim I.	1098	Dynasty of the LOMI.	
Muhammad III.	1115	Beloli	1450
Arfill	1118	Secunder I.	1488
Byram I.	1152	Ibrahim II.	1516
Chusro I.	1159		
Chusro II.		MOGUL, or MUNGUL	
		Emperors.	
GEORGIAN, or GAUKIAN		Baber	1525
Emperor.		Humaioon	1530
Mahomed II. or Mahomed			
Chori	1134	Second PATAN Dynasty.	
PATAN, or AFGHAN		Shere	1542
Emperors.		Selim	1545
Cuttub	1205	Mahomed VI.	1552
Eldeze		Ibrahim III.	
Aram	1210		
Akumsh, or Iltumsh		MOGUL Dynasty restored.	
Feroze I.	1235	Humaioon	1554
Sultana Rizia, Empress	1236	Acbar	1559
Pyram II.	1239	Jehanguire	1605
Muhammad IV.	1242	Shah Jehan	1628
Mahmoed II.	1245	Aurenzebe, or Allum,	
Balin	1265	guire I.	1659
Keikobad	1286	Bahader Shah	1707
Feroze II.	1289	Jehaunder Shah	1712
Alla I.	1295	Ferozkere	1713
Qamar	1316	Ruffieh-ul-Dirjat	
Mubarrick I.	1317	Ruffiel-ul-Dowlah	1717
Tuglick	1321	† Mahomed Shah	1718
Mahomed III.	1325	Ahmed Shah	1748
Feroze III.	1351	Allumguire II.	1753
Tuglick II.	1388	Shah Aulum	1760

* He began his reign in Ghizni, A. D. 977.

† Tamerlane's invasion happened in this reign.

‡ The invasion of Nadir Shah took place in this reign.

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The HINDOO or GENTOO History.] “There is no known history of Hindoostan,” says major Rennell, “(that rests on the foundation of Hindoo materials or records) extant, before the period of the Mahomedan conquests: for either the Hindoos kept no regular histories, or they were all destroyed, or secluded from common eyes by the Pundits. We may judge of their traditions in general by that existing concerning Alexander’s expedition: which is, that he fought a great battle with the emperor of Hindoostan, near Delhi; and though victorious, retired to Persia across the northern mountains. So that the remarkable circumstance of his sailing down the Indus, in which he employed many months, is sunk altogether: and yet perhaps few events of ancient times, rest on better foundations than this part of the history of Alexander. It is chiefly to Persian pens that we are indebted for that portion of Indian history which we possess.” *Memoir of a Map, third edition, Introd. p. xl.*

The empire of the Hindoos or Gentoos over all India, as tradition maintains, came down from the darkest and most remote antiquity to the one hundred and seventieth year before the Christian era, when it was dissolved by civil discord and war. Bengal, like many other provinces, started up into an independent kingdom, and was governed by successive dynasties of rajahs, who chiefly resided at the now-deserted capital of Ghor. Under these princes it continued a powerful and opulent kingdom to the beginning of the thir-

teenth century, when it was first invaded by the Mahomedans, under a prince of the race of Chillagi, who possessed the countries near the source of the Oxus (the modern Jihon). The name of this Tartar invader was Eaś-ul-dien. But he was soon after reduced to subjection by Altamsh, the Patan emperor of Delhi, who formed Bengal into a province, which was governed by a lieutenant.

Bengal, during the dominion of the Patans in India, was frequently subject to revolution and change. Akbar the great, by the expulsion of Daood, the last king of Bengal of the Patan race, annexed it, in the year 1574, to his empire.

It then became governed by a viceroy, known by the names of Nabob, Subah, and Nazim. This officer held his dignity only during pleasure.

Jaffier Khawn, nabob of Bengal, in 1717, obtained from the emperor of Hindostan the governments of Bahar and Orissa, to be annexed to that of Bengal, which ever before had been distinct and separate nabobships. With this new acquisition of power he removed from Dacca, then the chief residence of the Soubahs, to Moorshedabad, and that city then became the capital of the province. In 1725, Jaffier Khawn deceased, to the great joy of the provinces, which he had ruled with a rod of iron. Soujah Khawn, his son-in-law, succeeded him: upon his demise, in 1719, his son Serfraz Khawn took possession of the government, and maintained himself in it for about three years, until the rebellion of
 Aslavardi

Allaverdi Khawn; who was then governor of the Bahar province. This man, who had formerly been Soujah Khawn's Hookahburdar, or pipe-bearer, after promoting an unparal- leled scene of treachery among the perfidious servants of his master, defeated him in a battle fought on the twenty-eighth of January, 1742, in which the nabob lost his life. From that period the traitor usurped the government of Bengal, and maintained himself in it against the repeated invasions of the Mahrattas, which lasted for about eight years, to the great destruction of the country and its manufactures, till, on the tenth of April, 1756, he died a natural death.

This usurper was succeeded by his brother's grandson, the tyrant Serajah ul Dowlah, who, upon some disputes with the English East-India Company's servants, dispossessed them of their factories; and, on the twentieth of June, 1756, seized and sacked the town and fort of Calcutta, and Fort William: when such of the English, and their dependants, as escaped the tyrant's fury, took refuge on board the trading vessels then in the river, and dropped down the Tultah, where they led a most miserable life till the December following, when the English squadron under the command of admirals Watson and Pocock, with the troops under lieutenant-colonel Robert Clive, arrived from the coast of Coromandel. Inconsiderable as this force was, they gallantly proceeded to the re-taking of Calcutta, and on the third of January, 1757, happily accomplished their work,

with scarce any loss. The English, by unparalleled instances of bravery and good conduct, attended with the most extraordinary good fortune, baffled the nabob in all his attempts, and forced him, with his numerous army, to retire to his capital of Moorshedabad, having first compelled him to enter into a very advantageous treaty, wherein he confirmed all the former possessions and immunities of the company, and granted several new privileges. This was the first formal treaty the company had ever entered into with any nabob of Bengal. It was solemnly ratified in the strongest manner.

About this period, the English at Calcutta received news of war being declared against France, and they presently discovered that the French were secretly negotiating with the nabob. It was thereupon resolved to set aside a neutrality, which had been at first proposed, and to attack the French settlements immediately. A resolution no sooner taken than successfully executed. Chandernagore, the principal settlement of the French in Bengal, surrendered on the 23d of March. The town and fortifications were afterward rased and levelled with the ground.—But to resume the account of the war with the nabob.

About three months after the execution of the treaty with Serajah ul Dowlah, it was resolved by the English to dispossess him of his Vizamut, or viceroyship, and to give it to another. Accordingly Meer Jaffier Ally Khawn, who had been a Jamindar, or commander of a party of horse under the late

late Allaverdi Khawn, and was now a general, and related to the present nabob by marriage, was the man pitched upon for the succession. In consequence of which, articles of agreement were privately sent to him by Colonel Clive, on the second of May, 1757. The nabob, Serajah ul Dowlah, betrayed by his servant Jaffier, was, with his numerous army of twenty thousand horse, fifty thousand foot, and fifty pieces of heavy cannon, defeated on the plains of Plassey, on the twenty-third of June, 1757, by a handful of men under the command of colonel Clive, and the nabob himself obliged to escape in disguise. The consequences of this victory to the company were important beyond measure, for their existence in India depended on the decision of that day. Colonel Clive shewed a noble intrepidity in resolving to cross the Ganges with his army, and attack the enemy, contrary to the opinion of a great majority, when a council of war was held. He had no opportunity of displaying himself in the field; the chief glory there was won by major Kilpatrick.

Six days after this action Meer Jaffier was formally placed on the Musnud, or throne of the nabobs of Bengal, by colonel Clive, at Moorshedabad.

A treaty was then entered into between Meer Jaffier and the East-India Company, whereby the former not only confirmed their possessions and privileges, and the treaty made with his predecessor, but granted farther privileges and territories, beside
paying

paying immense sums of ready money both to the company and individuals.

It was on this revolution that colonel Clive (late lord Clive) was created an omrah of the empire by Meer Jaffier; for the support of which, the nabob made him a jagueerdar, or lord of the lands ceded by the above treaty to the English company; producing annually near thirty thousand pounds sterling: beside which, his lordship received in presents to the amount of near 300,000 $\frac{1}{2}$ sterling.

In the mean time the expelled nabob Serajah Dowlah was discovered on his flight to Ragemahl, seized, and sent down to Moorshedabad, where he was privately murdered by order of Jaffier.

The Dutch at Bengal, seeing the distracted state of the country, and the uses made of nabobs from the superiority of European discipline, determined, in their turn, to adventure in the same way: but they were soon obliged to accede to very disadvantageous articles of accommodation with their more powerful rival.

The English, upon these numerous and signal successes, had acquired so great a reputation, and spread such terror through the country, that they might with ease have marched to Delhi. Revolutions had now become a trade, or at least a fund to supply the exigencies of the company and their substitutes. Little more than three years had elapsed before it was thought expedient to dispossess Meer Jaffier of the government. He is universally described as a consummate villain, and his conduct
proves

proves him to be such. Lord Clive, in his speech in the house of commons, delivered the thirtieth of March, 1772, says, p. 40, "The old nabob, Meer Jaffer, if ever Mussulman had a friendship for a christian, had a friendship for me." But lord Clive (then colonel Clive) had quitted Bengal, and the men who took the lead not finding the nabob's feelings assimilate with their own, determined on a fresh revolution. This was brought about in favour of Meer Cossim Ally Khawn, who had married Jaffer's daughter: by virtue of which alliance his father-in-law was displaced without any commotion or bloodshed. This event took place on the twenty-seventh of September, 1760.

In less than three years after Cossim's advancement, designs were formed to deprive him of the honours which he received. But his tenure was too strong to be shaken except by open violence; accordingly war was declared against him on the seventh of July, 1763, and it was resolved upon to reinstate Meer Jaffer. A very resolute and doubtful conflict ensued, in which the English, who at first fought for empire, were at length obliged to contend for existence. The success of the war was for some time so uncertain, that (contrary to all former practice) the writers, and other young persons in the civil service of the company, were all accoutred, disciplined, and formed into a military corps. The battle of Garea, which for a long time kept victory in suspense, at length decreed her to the English; in consequence

quence of which, Meer Cossim was forced to take refuge with the nabob Sujah ul Dowlah, son to the late nabob of that name, whilst his father-in-law was reinstated in his government. Jaffier had been brought down to the English settlement at Calcutta, where a monthly stipend was allowed him for his subsistence, during the advancement of Cossim, but he died on the fifth of February, 1765, soon after his re-elevation; which furnished a fresh occasion for the company's servants to circumscribe the power of the nabobs in the person of his successor, his eldest son Najim ul Dowlah, a youth of about eighteen years of age; who, after having granted away almost every remaining prerogative, was suffered to bear the title of nabob.

The alarm which the resolute stand of Cossim's troops against those of the Company spread in England, inclined the proprietary to send out lord Clive, as the only man whose presence could regain their wonted superiority. He arrived soon after the mock elevation of Najim ul Dowlah. The extensive powers with which this nobleman, in conjunction with a select committee, was invested, would not suffer him to sit down an inactive spectator of the tranquillity which he found re-established. He and the committee therefore thought fit to set aside the treaties just before ratified with the emperor Shah Allum (see the history of the Mogul empire) and the expelled nabob Sujah ul Dowlah, and new agreements were entered into, by which the English received a grant from

the emperor of the Dewannee, or imperial revenue of Bengal, which grant Najim ul Dowlah confirmed, and agreed to accept the annual sum of fifty-three lacks and eighty-six thousand sicca rupees, or about six hundred and seventy-three thousand two hundred and sixty-six pounds sterling, for the support of his government. He also agreed to pay to the emperor twenty-six lacks, or three hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds per annum, for having granted the dewannee or revenues of his province to the English East-India Company; who, having obtained a confirmation of this grant from the king of Great Britain, became securities for the nabob Najim ul Dowlah regularly paying that sum to the emperor. Within two or three months after the arrangements above mentioned, the select committee thought fit to reduce the nabob's appointment to less than forty-two lacks; but he died, says Mr. Bolts, suddenly, the eighth of May 1766, within fifteen months after his exaltation to the musnud. His brother, Meer Kaneyah Seyful Dowlah, a youth of about fifteen years of age, was honoured with the title of nabob: his stipend, according to Mr. Bolts, was reduced to thirty-six lacks; but Mr. Verelst denies the fact; however, he did not long enjoy this high station, for he too, according to Mr. Bolts, died suddenly on the tenth of March 1770. Mr. Verelst, on the other hand, asserts that he died of the small-pox, after an illness of eleven days. The next nabob was Mobtack ul Dowlah, the youngest and only surviving

surviving son of Meer Jaffier, who was thirteen years of age when his brother died; his allowance, upon his accession, was settled by the company's servants in Bengal at thirty-two lacks a year, but the court of directors reduced it to sixteen lacks, which was the sum paid for some years. *Dow's Enquiry into the State of Bengal. Holwell's Historical Events of Bengal, part i. Vansittart's Narrative, vol. i. Bolts's Considerations. Verelst's Account of Bengal.*

The war with France, which broke out in the year 1756, though it produced less splendid victories, yet conferred more substantial renown on the commanders who conducted it. A fresh supply of men and ships from Europe, in 1759, gave a new face to affairs. M. d'Aché commanded a very strong squadron; and M. de Lally, an experienced officer, was at the head of two thousand European soldiers. At first they proceeded with a success equal to the superiority of their strength; but the vigorous measures of admiral Pocock, the revered Watson having died at Calcutta, at length prevailed at sea; while M. de Lally on shore was impeded in his operations by want of money to pay his troops. He attempted much, but performed little; not from a deficiency either of courage or military skill, but because a tyrannic spirit rendered him odious to those who served under him; and the intrigues, which at that time prevailed in the court of France, caused him to be unsupported and even abandoned by administration in Europe.

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In 1760 the French were driven out of all their territories on the Coromandel coast, except Pondicherry, and a few inconsiderable places. A very decisive battle was fought that campaign before Wandewash, in which the French, notwithstanding their great superiority in point of numbers, were totally defeated by colonel Coote. The battle of Plassey exceeded this in its consequences, but by no means equalled it in the fame reflected on the commander who achieved it. A disgraceful defeat of the French at sea followed soon after; and before the close of the campaign they were pent within the single fortress of Pondicherry.

As soon as the cessation of the periodical rains permitted, the siege of Pondicherry was regularly begun, in 1761. A blockade had been formed round the town, whilst the weather would not allow of more active measures, which had intercepted all supplies of provisions, so that the besieged were soon reduced to the most extreme distress. They lived upon camels, elephants, dogs, and cats: the great scarcity even of this wretched provision increased their misery. Sixteen rupees had been paid for the flesh of a dog. At length the place was taken, and, by the haughty conduct of M. Lally, who refused any terms of capitulation, was given up to plunder. The garrison consisted of about fourteen hundred European soldiers: the place contained a vast quantity of military stores, and great wealth. Together with Pondicherry, all footing on the Coromandel coast was lost to the French;

French; but by the definitive treaty in 1763 that settlement was restored to them.

The country powers, and all dread of European rivalry, thus annihilated, an extensive, rich, and populous empire fell into the hands of the servants of a trading company of British merchants. Unparalleled prospects of wealth and of power then opened both to the collective body, and to individuals acting under its appointment. The most rigid virtue was required to resist such allurements; what then must we suppose to have been the exercise of such an ascendency, when it is considered, that India had then for many years been the country to which the most daring, enterprising, and restless spirits, which the mother country produced, had migrated? A few large fortunes, rapidly acquired in India, diffused such a spirit of emigration among the prodigally-avaricious at home, as occasioned a very salutary discharge of the peccant humours in the body politic: but these fortune-hunters, let loose upon the inoffensive natives of Bengal, produced the most baneful effects in the country. Now the labour of the poor Gentoo must be increased, and his reward withheld, in order that English adventurers might return to their native country conspicuous in all the splendour of wealth. Hence arose the complaints of the governing powers at home, that the licentious and rapacious spirit of individuals was not to be controlled by the utmost exertion of their authority; whilst, on the other hand, the same impatient spirit to acquire private,

private fortunes to themselves, was retorted in charge against those to whom the company had delegated the superintendency of their interests.

Dreadful have been the oppressions practised on the defenceless natives: enormous were the depredations on the wealthy, and severe the sufferings of the poor: to the latter, destructive monopolies, and artificial scarcities, caused a want of those very few necessities which the most abstemious habits of life required. The British legislature was impelled by every principle of humanity and justice, as well as of political wisdom and sound policy, to correct such flagrant abuse of power; for which purpose many salutary laws have been passed, and the most effectual measures have been taken, with a view to check the rapacity of individuals, and to establish a mild and equitable government in the country; in consequence of which, the accounts brought for some time past bear testimony to the good effects already produced, and to the tranquillity, harmony, and prosperity, which prevail.

• When France thought fit to interfere in the contention between Great Britain and her American colonies, Pondicherry first fell a sacrifice to this intriguing spirit; but a formidable enemy arising to the English, in the person of Heider Alli, a wasteful, destructive, and inglorious war was maintained on the peninsula of India. The British fleet was no longer commanded by a Pocock, and admiral Sir Hyde Parker, who was sent out to restore the tarnished lustre of the nation in those seas, was most unhappily lost on his passage thither. Pondicherry once more reverted

to France at the peace of 1783, but its fortifications had been previously raised, and its consequence lost.

POSSESSIONS OF THE ENGLISH IN INDIA.] Bengal is well known by giving its name to the greatest gulf in Asia, which separates the two peninsulas of the Indies. This kingdom, which is situated at the N. W. extremity of the gulf, extends six hundred miles from E. to W. and three hundred from N. to S. It consists of one vast plain, of the most fertile soil in the world, which, in common with other parts of Hindostan, renders two, and in some parts three crops a year. Its chief produce is *sugar, silk, fruits, pepper, opium, rice, salt-petre, gum-lack, and civet*. It is usually compared to Egypt for its fertility, the river Ganges here dividing itself into several branches, and annually overflowing the country as the Nile does Egypt.

The British nation possesses, in full sovereignty, the whole soubah of Bengal, and the greatest part of Bahar; but in that province there are several pergunnahs on the S. W. which are now in possession of the Mahrattas: in Orissa they possess only the districts of Midnapour; the rest being entirely in the hands of the Mahrattas, or their tributaries. The British possessions in these three provinces contain about 150,000 square British miles of land, to which, if we add the district of Benares, the whole will be 162,000 miles, which is 30,000 more than are contained in Great Britain and Ireland. The native inhabitants are estimated at eleven millions. The revenue, including that of Benares, (which, since the deposition

deposition of Cheit Sing, in 1783, has been fixed at four millions of sicca rupees, or 380,000 pounds sterling,) major Rennell states to have been, in the year 1786, about 287 lacks of sicca rupees, valued at 2*s.* 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ *d.* which may be reckoned equal to 3,790,000 pounds sterling. This includes customs, mint, &c. clear of charges, 120,000 pounds; salt revenue 430,000 pounds; and opium 60,000 pounds. The subsidy from the nabob of Oude is a farther amount of 420,000 pounds, which increases the whole amount to 4,210,000 pounds. The various charges arising from collecting the revenue, civil and military establishments, marine, and fortifications, amount to 2,540,000 pounds. So that the net revenues arising from these provinces amount to 1,670,000 pounds sterling.

- The land revenue from Madras, including the northern Circars, the same author gives at 725,000 pounds; the Carnatic subsidy at 160,000 pounds; the Tanjore subsidy at 160,000 pounds; the customs, &c. 25,000 pounds; total 1,070,000 pounds. The expences consist in military charges on the Company's and Nabob's account, 770,000 pounds; charges of collecting the revenues 85,000 pounds; civil establishments, fortifications, &c. 130,000 pounds; amounting in the whole to 985,000 pounds. The total net revenue of Madras is stated to be 85,000 pounds.

At Bombay the disbursements exceed the receipts by about 300,000 pounds; and at the settlement of

Bencoolen, on the island of Sumatra, the annual charges are about 50,000 pounds; which when deducted, the total net revenue, drawn from the territorial possessions in India, by the English East-India company, is stated to be 1,405,000 pounds.

The company's military establishment in India, in time of peace, is about 10,000 Europeans, and 52,000 regular sepoy infantry. It appears also, that the sum total of the sales of East India, and China merchandise, imported into England in one year, has amounted to five millions and a quarter sterling. *Rennell's Introd. pages 113, 114, 115.*

The natural situation of Bengal is singularly happy with respect to security from the attacks of foreign enemies. On the N. and E. it has a strong barrier of mountains, rivers, and extensive wastes; but on those quarters it has no warlike neighbours. On the S. is a sea-coast guarded by shallows and impenetrable woods, with only one port, and that of difficult access, in an extent of 300 miles. It is on the W. only that any enemy is to be apprehended, and even there the natural barrier is strong; which, with its population, resources, and constant military force, composed of sepoys and British, fully secure it from attack; but even supposing an invasion to be effected from that quarter, the country beyond the Ganges would be exempt from the ravages of war, and furnish supplies for the general defence.

GOVERNMENT of the MOGUL.] The emperor

was absolute and sole arbiter of every man's fate, and under the control of no law. All the lands in India were considered as the property of the king, except some districts which were the hereditary possession of certain Hindoo princes. The title of Great Mogul appears to have been adopted upon no other authority than that of the French missionaries, who, in the first publication of their travels to the East, have been pleased to stile him the *Grand Mogul*. No appellation or title given this monarch in the empire serves to confirm this description of him, where he is called simply *Shah*, or *Padsbah*; in Persian meaning king. *Bolts's Considerations*, page 22.

According to the opinion of the Indians, the right of succession is vested in the eldest son; but the last will of the Shah very often counteracted this claim of primogeniture. All children born in the haram were alike legitimate, whether the issue of wives or concubines.

The vizier was generally first minister of state. All edicts and public deeds were used to pass under his seal, after the royal signet was affixed to them. He superintended the royal exchequer, and in that capacity kept accounts with the *dewans* or receivers-general of the provinces, in every thing respecting the finances.

A *Vakiel Mutuluck* was an officer elected only in times of exigency; and during his continuance the Shah delegated to him his whole power, reserving

only to himself the imperial title and ensigns of royalty.

The Mogul system of government admitted of no hereditary honours. The ranks and degrees of nobility were for the most part official, excepting those of the military kind. The nobles, or omrahs, consisted of three orders: the *Emers*, who were the first officers of state, and the viceroys of provinces; the *Chans*, who held high posts in the army; and the *Bahadurs*, who may in some measure be compared to our knights. The number of which these three orders consisted was arbitrary, and each of them had peculiar privileges in the empire.

No princes in the world patronized men of letters with more generosity and respect than the Mahomedan emperors of Hindoostan. A genius for literature was not only the means to acquire a degree of wealth which must astonish Europeans, but an infallible road for rising to the first offices in the state. The character of the learned was at the same time so sacred, that tyrants, who made a pastime of embroiling their hands in the blood of their other subjects, not only abstained from offering violence to men of genius, but stood in fear of their pens. And, however amazing it may seem in absolute governments, it is certain, that the historians of that division of the world have written with more freedom, concerning persons and things, than writers have dared to do in the west. *Dow's Hindoostan.*

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The great officers of state, by a kind of prescription, formed a council, which answered to our cabinet. The emperor asked their advice upon affairs of moment; he heard their sentiments; but nothing was decided by vote. They were his advisers, but they had no control on his power. He frequently called to this council men in inferior departments; and when the deliberation concerned any particular province, the nobles best acquainted with that part of the empire were admitted into the cabinet. The offences of the first rank of nobility came under the cognizance of this council, as well as other matters of state. They were a kind of grand jury, who found the matters of fact, and the sovereign pronounced the sentence. He might, by his despotic power, issue out a warrant of death without their advice; but the known opinions of mankind on that subject bound him like a law.

The emperor gave public audience twice a day from the throne; this every Mahomedan prince is bound to do by the laws of the Koran. (*Mrs. Kinderley's Letters, page 187.*) All petitioners were permitted to approach him; their petitions were delivered to the *Arez Beg*, or lord of the requests; he presented them to the king, who signified his pleasure in a concise manner with his own hand, superscribed to the petition. In matters of intricacy reference was made to the *Sidder ul Suddar*, whose office answers to that of our chief justice. There were no written laws except such as are contained in

the Koran. Certain usages, founded on general consent and immemorial custom, were also committed to writing.

In every district or *pergunnah* there was a court of justice established, called a *cutchery*; these courts were extremely oppressive, both on account of their legal constitution and venal abuse, as one fourth part of the property litigated was claimed as the legal fees for bringing a cause to issue.

When the empire was in it's vigorous state, as often as the king took the field, the provincial nabobs with their troops were bound to repair to the imperial standard. Each Nabob erected his own standard, and formed a separate camp, subject to the imperial orders only. There are but few traces of real discipline to be met with among those myriads with whom the emperors of Hindostan often took the field. The forces of the great Sultan Baber alone were formed on a regular and masterly plan. The disposition of his battles was extremely judicious; and the signal victories he obtained over immense armies, with a handful of men, are sufficient to convince us that military discipline has not always been unknown in Asia.

“It may be matter of surprise to an European,” says Mr. Dow, “how eastern armies of two or three hundred thousand horse, and triple that number of soldiers and followers, could be supplied with provision upon their march, and in their standing camps. To account for this,” continues he, “it is to be observed,

served, that every provincial nabob, when he takes the field, appoints an officer called the *cutwal*, whose business it is to superintend the bazars, or markets, which shall belong to his camp. Every commander of a body of troops obtains at the same time permission to hoist a flag for a bazar, and to appoint a cutwal of his own, under the direction of the cutwal-general. These cutwals grant licences to chapmen, sutlers, and corn-dealers, who purchase the protection of the different flags by a stipulated tax. The pay of the soldiery in Hindostan is very great; this enables them to give high prices for provisions, and the countries round run all hazards for such a prospect of advantage. The natural fertility of the country enables the inhabitants thus readily and plentifully to furnish the armies. The Mahomedans, as well as the warlike nations of the Hindoos, are fond of the parade of cavalry, of which most of their armies are composed; but a great and strange defect reigns in these armies: every soldier provides his own horse; if his horse is killed (as it is generally impossible for him to furnish another) he is no longer a soldier; his livelihood depends upon his horse more than on himself, and according to the value of that he receives his pay. It is astonishing that Mahomedan princes should ever adopt this maxim; for, although a Mahomedan, from his faith in predestination, ought not to run away to save his own life, he will most likely avoid all danger to save his horse; which occasions mighty

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and insurmountable obstacles to their ever conquering Europeans. *Mrs. Kinderley's Letters*, page 203. —Experience has since shewn us, that this absurd custom has been laid aside in the peninsula of India, by that distinguished genius in the art of war, Heider Ali.

"These numerous armies," says Mr. Cumbridge, "seldom keep the field any time without great loss by famine; for a very considerable diminution is scarcely felt among such multitudes, and is very little regarded from any sentiments of humanity: a famine therefore is neither considered as any thing extraordinary, nor will the memory of it ever prevent the assembling another multitude, that must also be liable to the same chances of subsisting or starving. "Allowances must also be made for the great loss they sustain in men, beasts, and all the implements of war. as often as they move in difficult roads, and particularly in their manner of passing over great rivers: for their rivers, in the rainy season, become so rapid, that the landing-place is frequently a mile below the place of embarkation. In crossing them they use large boats of a kind of basket work, which they cover with skins. As there is always great plenty of hides in so numerous an army, they are easily made; and, though they are light and manageable, are capable of carrying a considerable number of horse, and of transporting the heaviest artillery.

"The true cause of the ill success of the Indian armies in an engagement, proceeds from their being

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unacquainted with the advantages of discipline, and their keeping their infantry upon too low a footing. Their cavalry, though not backward to engage with sabres, are extremely unwilling to bring their horses within the reach of our guns, for the reason observed above.

A much greater advantage Europeans possess over these Asiatics from their being tenacious of their ancient manners, than in their want of bravery; not only the prince, but every rajah, who has the command of all the forces he can bring into the field, always appears among them mounted on an elephant, and is at once the general and ensign of his men, who constantly keep their eyes on him; and if they lose sight of him for a moment, conclude that all is lost, and instantly disperse. This affords our engineers a fair opportunity of deciding the fate of a whole detachment by one well-directed discharge of a six-pounder; and those enormous beasts now seem brought into the field only to be a mark for our artillery. Those rajahs, sensible of being thus exposed, sometimes avail themselves of the only expedient that can afford them any security; for it has been observed, that several elephants, with the same caparisons, and with riders in the same rich and splendid habits, have appeared in different parts of the field on the same day.

Though they have severely suffered from being surprised in the night by Europeans, they can never be brought to establish in their camp either order

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or vigilance; for at the close of the evening every man eats a great quantity of rice, and many take after it soporific drugs, so that about midnight the whole army is in a dead sleep; the consequence of which is obvious: and yet, says the above author, an eastern monarch would think it very strange, should any one endeavour to persuade him, that the security of his throne depended upon the regulation of the meals of a common soldier; much less would he be prevailed on to restrain him in the use of that opium which is to warm his blood for action, and animate his soul with heroism. The mind of an European soldier must be equally filled with compassion and contempt at seeing a heap of these unhappy creatures, animated by a momentary intoxication, crowded into a breach, and both in their garb and impotent fury resembling a mob of frantic women. In short, the very eastern dress has an appearance of effeminacy, and the Europeans are not inclined to be struck with much apprehension from seeing a body of horse in silk or cotton robes.

REVENUES of the MOGUL EMPIRE.] The revenues of the Mogul arose from the produce of the ground, the customs of the sea-ports, the estates of the great men at their death, which devolved to the crown, the presents from his subjects, who never approached their prince or governor empty-handed, and the treasures produced by the diamond-mines. The viceroy, or governor, of every province which owned subjection to him, was obliged to supply the crown

crown with a certain sum, which he raised out of the manufactures and produce of the soil. This, added to the other revenues, is said to have amounted annually to between forty and fifty millions sterling, before Nadir Shah ravaged the empire.

• The coins of this country are, the *pice*, or *cash*, which is of copper, and about the value of a half-penny; the *fanam*, a silver coin, worth three pence; the *rupee*, a silver coin, worth two shillings and three pence; the *gold moor*, or *rupee*, worth about fourteen silver rupees; and the *pagoda*, so called from its having the figure of a pagoda stamped upon it: the last, which is worth nine shillings, is flat on one side and convex on the other. These are chiefly coined by the *rajahs* or petty princes.

Gold and silver coins are finer here than in any other country. Foreigners have their mints, and coin both gold and silver, particularly the English at Calcutta; and from the adulterations practised on the coinage there, individuals have amassed great wealth, to the disgrace of the government, which connived, at least, at such a flagrant abuse of office. Foreign coins are also current; but for trifling matters they sometimes use bitter almonds, or sea-shells called *couries* or *blackmoor's teeth*, sixty of which are valued at about a halfpenny.

Large sums are reckoned by *lacks*, *carors*, and *arabs*. • A lack is one hundred thousand rupees, or eleven thousand two hundred and fifty pounds sterling; a *caror*, or *carore*, is one hundred lacks, or
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one million one hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds sterling; and an arab is ten carors, or eleven million two hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling.

RELIGIONS IN INDIA.—[MAHOMEDANS.] Of the Mahomedan religion in India little need be said, as the rise, progress, and establishment of Mahomedanism is a subject treated of in the first volume of this work (chap. xx.), and will be again touched upon in the next chapter, when the Persians come to be spoken of; it is therefore sufficient to say here, that Mahomedanism was the only religion tolerated in the court of the emperor, and adhered to by his viceroys or nabobs; as well as by all those who were employed in the various departments of government. Nothing can be more opposite to each other than the religious tenets of the Tartarian conquerors of India and the subjugated Hindoos; and they have necessarily continued to this time distinct and separate classes of mankind, incapable of assimilating and blending into one common stock, by any lapse of time or any concurrence of accidental circumstances. The persecuting spirit and zeal to make converts, which marked the character of the Tartarian emperors to the close of Aurungzebe's reign, has since been unknown.

As the Indian Mahomedans are situated at such a distance from the venerated spot, to which all the devotional acts of Mussulmans in some measure tend, pilgrimages to Mecca are never practised by them; and as this means of keeping the devotional fervour

fervour in full energy is wanting, religious bigotry is much less prevalent here than among the Turks. The name of Mahomet is reverentially treated, but many of the injunctions of the Koran are not scrupulously adhered to; yet the accounts which are transmitted of these people are highly honourable, for they are said to carry their veneration of the Supreme Being so far, as not only never to mention the word Alla, or God, with the least irreverence, but they think it in a manner blasphemous to praise or define a Being whom they consider as so infinitely above all praise, definition, or comprehension. Thus they do not even approve of calling him good, righteous, merciful, thinking such epithets superfluous and impertinent; as if one was emphatically to say of a man that he had a head, or any other members necessary to the human form: for they conceive it a profanation of the name of God to associate it with human attributes or conceptions; and that nothing fills the idea due to that Being so well as the name itself, “a substantive singularity, and for ever, above the junction of an adjective.” If this is superstition, it is the sublimity of it.

HINDOOS, or GENTOOS.] The first European who availed himself of the advantages which wealth and consequence in the country furnished, to obtain information concerning the religion, mythology, and philosophy of the Hindoes, and communicated to the public the result of his inquiries, was Mr. Holwell; he was followed by colonel Dow; but Mr. Hastings,

Hastings, when governor-general of Bengal and Bahar, promoted with great zeal and effect inquiries into the literature, history, religion, customs, and laws of the Hindoos : under his patronage translations have been made from the Sanscrit language into the Persian, of the most ancient and authentic writings preserved among those people, many of which have been translated into English by Messrs. Gladwin, Halhead, and Wilkins ; the first of these gentlemen has published the *Ayeen Akbery* of Abul Fazel, vizier of Akbar the Great, in three quarto volumes, which were printed at Calcutta in the years 1784, 5, and 6, and are replete with important information. This zealous patronage of oriental literature, embraced as its object not only speculative science, but the purposes of legislation and government. Eleven learned Brahmins, whose profession was particularly that of pundits, or lawyers, were invited from different parts of the kingdom to Fort William, at Calcutta ; the most authentic books, both ancient and modern, in the Sanscrit language, were collected, and every thing which respected the laws of the Hindoos selected, sentence by sentence, which was literally translated into the Persian language. This version has been rendered into English by Mr. Halhed, and forms a digested, arranged, and methodized code of Gentoo laws. Not one of the pundits who compiled this code could, however, be prevailed upon to impart any information respecting the sacred Sanscrit language itself ; but

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Mr. Halhed afterward became acquainted with a Brahmin who possessed a liberality of sentiment, which general knowledge, acquired by books and travel, having confirmed, rendered him superior to the narrow conduct of the rest of his tribe; he was prevailed upon to become an instructor in this mysterious language, and by such an assistance Mr. Halhed has been enabled to give an account of the religion of the Hindoos, in the preface to his translation of the code of their laws; in doing which he frequently overturns the principles laid down by Mr. Howell and colonel Dow. The latter of whom speaks of having been equally successful in obtaining, about twenty years before, from Benares, a pundit, who instructed him in that mysterious tongue, although the emperor Akbar, two centuries before, exerted all his influence in vain for that purpose. Kercher, however, in his *China Illustrata*, about the beginning of the present century, gave unquestionable proofs of his acquaintance with it.

The ancient and venerable city of Benares, has, from time immemorial, been the principal university of Braminical learning. Major Rennell supposes that toward the close of the twelfth century, when Mahomed Gori perpetrated the most shocking cruelties upon the Brahmins in that city, and committed every kind of outrage and violence upon the objects of their worship, that the Sanscrit had, until then, been the current language of Hindoostan, and from that period it began to decline

in its purity, by the admission of words from that of the conquerors, until the language of Hindoostan became what it now is; the original Sanscrit preserved in their antient writings becoming a dead language. *Memoir of a Map, Introd. page xlvii. 3d edition.*

A remarkable and interesting circumstance in the traditional belief of the Hindoos is, the inconceivable antiquity of the world. In the extent of their belief of this fact they even exceed their neighbours the Chinese, and do not fall short of them in circumstantiality of relation. They reckon the existence of the world by four Jogues, or ages. The first they call "The Suttée Jogue," or age of purity; which they hold to have lasted 3,200,000 years, and that the life of man was, in that age, extended to 100,000 years, and that his stature was twenty-one cubits. The second they call "Tirtah Jogue," or the age in which one-third of mankind were reprobated. They suppose its duration to have reached 2,400,000 years, and that men then lived to the age of 10,000 years. The third they call "The Dwapaar Jogue," in which half of the human race became depraved; this period, they say, continued 1,600,000 years, and men's lives were reduced to 1000 years. The fourth, or "Collee Jogue," in which all mankind are corrupted, or, rather lessened (for such is the meaning of Collee), is the present æra, which they suppose ordained to exist for 400,000 years, of which near 5000 are already passed; man's life in this period

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limited to 1000 years. *Halbed's Preface, page xxxviii.*

To reconcile such wonderful extravagances with the sober scriptural relations of the origin of things, would be a solution devoutly to be wished, and therefore prompts to hazard the following conjectural explanation. Let us then consider the first age, or the Sutte Jogue, as an angelic state; and both the Jewish and Christian scriptures warrant a belief of such beings existing long before mankind was produced. We can only conceive of angels as of beings possessing intellectual faculties, not differing in their nature, but merely in their degree, from men; and the mental powers of men seem to have been so enlarged, in the notions of the Hindoos, during that period, that they may as well be called embodied angels as men. The second age, or Tirtah Jogue, bears no essential disagreement with the relation of the fall of angels, to which the Jewish and Christian oracles bear testimony. The third may be considered as a farther defection in the angelic host; and the fourth corresponds, very remarkably, with the Mosaic account of the duration of this globe.

The Hindoos know of no tradition respecting a general deluge.

The books which contain the religion and philosophy of the Hindoos, are distinguished by the name of Bedas, according to Mr. Holwell, and Beids of the Shaster, according to Mr. Halhed. These they assert were penned by the Divinity. They are four in number, written in Shanscrita, or Shanscrit, called by some Sanscrit, among whom is Mr. Rennell; this is a language confined to the Brähmins, which furnishes

them with such absolute control over the vulgar that the Gentoos may be said to be most effectually priest-ridden of any nation upon earth.

"The most striking features in the character of the Hindoos," says a late writer, "are, their superstition, and veneration for the institutes and tenets of their forefathers. In India the dominion of religion extends to a thousand particulars, which, in other countries, are governed either by civil laws, or by taste, custom, or fashion. Dress, food, the common intercourses of life, marriages, professions, are all under the jurisdiction of religion: there is scarcely any thing that is not regulated by superstition, nor is there any thing so trifling and minute as to be held a matter of indifference. The original government of the Hindoos was in reality an hierarchy."

The Bedas are by the Brahmins held so sacred, that they permit no other sect to read them; and such is the influence of superstition and priestcraft over the minds of the other casts in India, that they would deem it an unpardonable sin to gratify their curiosity in that respect, were it even practicable. The Brahmins themselves are bound by such strong ties of religion to confine those writings to their own tribe, that were there any of them known to read them to others, he would be immediately excommunicated. See page 162.

The four Bedas contain one hundred thousand aphorisms, or stanzas, in verse, or, according to Mr. Halhed, in measured prose, each of which consists
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of four lines. The first Beda is called Rug Beda, which signifies the science of divination, concerning which it principally treats. It also contains astrology, astronomy, natural philosophy, and a very particular account of the creation of matter, and the formation of the world. The second Beda is distinguished by the name of Sheham; that word signifies piety and devotion; and this book accordingly treats of all religious and moral duties. It also contains many hymns in praise of the Supreme Being, as well as verses in honour of subaltern intelligences.

The third is the Judger Beda, which, as the word implies, comprehends the whole science of religious rites and ceremonies; such as fasts, festivals, purifications, penances, pilgrimages, sacrifices, prayers and offerings. They gave the appellation of Obatar Bah to the fourth Beda; Obatar signifies, in the Sanscrita, the Being, or the Essence, and Bah, good; so that the Obatar Bah literally signifies the knowledge of the Good Being; and accordingly this book comprehends the whole science of theology and metaphysical philosophy. Ever since the promulgation of the religion of Mahomet, the Brahmins have totally rejected this fourth Beda, as the schism of Mahomet, according to them, has been founded upon that book. Colonel Dow, whom we have followed in this description, elsewhere accounts for the disuse of this fourth Beda, from the obsolescence of the language in which it was penned. (Compare vol. I. preface, page 8, with Dissertation, page xxix.) The

same writer relates a legendary tale of the Brahmins, purporting, that an apostate Hindoo, being banished to the westward, propagated the Jewish faith, grounded on a schism from the Hindoo, which, say they, the impostor Māhomēt further corrupted.

The Gentops have, in all ages, believed in the transmigration of souls, which they denominate *Kāyāpṛewāśh* and *Kāyāpēlūt*. This latter literally answers to the word Metempsychosis. An ancient Shaster, called "The *Geeta*," written by Adhæ Doom, has a beautiful stanza upon this system of the transmigration, which he compares to a change of dress; the original of which follows, and will serve as a curious specimen of the Sanscrit language.

*An Ashlogue Cābee Chhund, or of eleven syllables in each line; on the Transmigration of Souls.

वासंसिजीर्णनिययाविद्यय

Wasāmsē jēernāñjā nā-wēēbāyē

नवानिष्टहृदि नरोपराणि

Nēwānēē grēhnātēē nērō-p-rānēē,

नथांशरीरमिविद्ययजीर्णन

Tēt, hā jō nēlānēē wēēbāyē jēernān

अन्यानिमेयातिनवाणिदेही

Eryānēē sunyātēē nēwānēē dāēhēē.

In

In English thus

U, throwing aside his old habits,
A man put on others that are new;
So, our lives, quitting the old,
Go to other new animals.

Halhed's Preface, p. xlv.

Hence it is highly probable, that the doctrine of the Metempsychosis by which Pythagoras was so particularly distinguished, was derived from them, with many other articles and modes of worship and opinion, which, from certain resemblances, might be traced from the same source. Thus, among many other conjectural instances, may be quoted the *Paphian Venus*; for the form of which Tacitus could not account, it rising from a broad basis to a narrow point at the top, which is exactly the figure of the idol in India consecrated to such an office as that heathen deity was supposed to preside over, and to which, on the borders of the Ganges, the Gentoo virgins are brought to undergo a kind of superficial defloration, before they are delivered up to their husbands. Mr. Halhed confirms this sentiment; see his *Interesting Events in India*; and Raynal has adopted it.

The passage in Tacitus is as follows: "Dea non effigie humana, continuus orbis latione infitio tenuum in ambitum metæ modo exungens, et ratio in obscuro."

Tacit. Hist. lib. ii. 3.

This idol, which is worshipped by the Gentoos under the name of Jaggernaut, is represented by

captain Hamilton as a pyramidal black stone, said to have fallen from heaven, or at least to have miraculously appeared in the place where they have erected his temple. It appears that this stone is meant for the power presiding over universal generation, which they attribute to the genial heat and influence of the sun acting in subordination to it, and to whom is addressed the following prayer, which the Brahmins especially often repeat in a day, with their eyes lifted up toward the sun: "Thou, power, which illuminates that resplendent orb, deign also to illuminate my mind, so as that I may thereby be directed to walk in the way which is most pleasing to thee."

It is from the Bedas that the Indians derive their religious veneration for the three capital rivers of Hindostan, the Indus, the Cristina, and the Ganges. Hence too the animal most serviceable in the cultivation of the soil, as well as the cow, whose milk is so wholesome in hot countries, is consecrated. Yet their tolerating spirit appears very conspicuous in their behaviour to those who differ from them in their treatment of cows, or of animals in general. They annex a general sanctity to every thing produced by that animal; they purify themselves with its urine, and burning the excrements into a greyish powder, sprinkle it on their foreheads, breasts, and bellies: also, when the dung is fresh made, they smear their houses and pavements with it, as a kind of lustration.

This

This principle of tenderness is, however, not confined to the horned species alone: their belief of the metempsychosis makes them extend it to every living creature, none being of so low a class, or so minute, but they imagine it may be the receptacle of a human soul, and consequently of their relations and friends. Hence that difference of size, which is wont to affect the eye with contempt or regard, and lessens or augments compassion to an animal in the act of destroying it, has no such effect upon them. They cannot without horror think of depriving any thing of that precious gift of God, life; and do not less respect it in the flea that bites them, than in the elephant. But this unbounded and insupportable humanity is adhered to only by some of the Brahmins.

The Banyans not only forbear to kill any living creature, but erect hospitals for them, particularly within a mile of Surat, the cows, horses, goats, and dogs that happen to be lame or enfeebled by age, are plentifully provided for; and they will purchase a lame ox of his Mahometan or Christian owner, to prevent his being killed by his master. The Banyans also once a year prepare an entertainment for the flies, setting before them large dishes of milk and sugar; and at other times they take a bag of rice, and, walking out two or three miles, scatter the rice round the ant-hills.

Indeed the Banyans are so firmly persuaded that departed

departed souls enter the bodies of animals, that they no sooner observe any of them frequent their houses, but they immediately conclude it is some of their deceased friends come to pay them a visit. Thus, it is said, that a person named Morradash, who was secretary to an English broker, being very melancholy on the death of his father, and seeing a spirit enter his house, immediately concluded it was animated by his father's soul, and came thither for relief. This thought gave him no small comfort, and he resolved to pay the same duty to his father under this metamorphosis, as when he was alive; and therefore provided milk and rice for his new guest; who liked his entertainment so well, that he took up his dwelling in a corner of the room, and came out to eat, when his food was set him, as regularly as if he was one of the family. The same man made a provision for the rats in his house, having persuaded himself that they were his relations; upon which they grew as tame as any other domestic animal.

The Hindoos have ten principal images, which are the objects of their adoration, and represent such figures as, according to the Bedas, their god Mahadeu was at several times pleased to assume for the service of mankind.

They have seldom any public assemblies in their pagodas, but every one performs his devotions when he thinks fit, and to which of the images he pleases.

The

The greatest part of their worship seems to consist in singing, dancing, playing on musical instruments, and in making offerings of rice and other food.

Their Gioghies, which are a kind of wandering Brahmins, seem descended from the ancient Gymnosophists, but, like other human institutions, have been at length vitiated by abuses, which hypocrisy, and the grossest impositions have introduced. Their original regulations enjoined a renunciation of the world, an itinerant life, and that perfect nakedness whence they derived their Greek names. At present, when they occasionally travel into countries under the jurisdiction of the Christians or Mahometans, they dispense with this last precept; and, out of deference to the prevailing customs, wear a scanty rag that scarce covers the parts to which their own opinions annex no idea of shame.

“When we attentively examine,” says Raynal, “the accounts given by travellers of the manners of the natives of India, we seem to wander among heaps of ruins, the remains of an immense fabric. The original form is lost, but enough is preserved to convince us of the magnificence and regularity of the plans. Amidst a variety of absurd superstitions, puerile and extravagant customs, strange ceremonies and prejudices, we may discover the traces of sublime morality, deep philosophy, and refined policy; but when we attempt to trace the religious and civil institutions to their origin, we find that it is lost in the maze of antiquity.”

The

The natives of India are men of strong natural parts, and are now found to have been no small proficient in literature and science, as the translation of the Ayeen Akbery into English has incontrovertibly evinced. They are said to have some of Aristotle's writings in the Arabian tongue, and some of the works of that celebrated physician Avicenna; likewise some fragments of the Old Testament in the same language; but this is only to be understood of the Mahometan inhabitants, many of whom are descended from the Arabs. These have but few books, which are all in manuscript, for the art of printing has not been introduced amongst them. According to the Abbé Raynal; we may trace the origin of most Sciences in the history of this country. Even before the age of Pythagoras, the Greeks travelled to India for instruction; the trade carried on by them with the oldest commercial nations, in exchange for their cloth, is a proof of their great progress in the arts of industry. *Hist. Politique, liv. i.*

In speaking of the religion and superstitions of the Hindoos, the little island of Elephanta, which lies between Bombay and the continent, deserves to be mentioned, as it is supposed to have been consecrated to religious acts in very remote antiquity.

It does not exceed three miles in compass, and consists almost of one entire hill, at the foot of which, on landing, appears above the shore, on the right hand, an elephant, carved in stone, of the natural size, which at a small distance may be taken for a living

adiving elephant, from the stone being naturally of the colour of that animal. It stands on a platform of stone of the same colour. On the back of this elephant was placed a young one standing, that appears to have been of the same stone, but has been long broken off. No tradition is old enough to give an account of the time when, or the use for which, this elephant was formed. There are not above two or three huts upon the island, as it has no spring of water, so that its few poor inhabitants can only be supplied with that necessary element from the heavens. A gradual ascent from the foot of the hill conducts to the entrance into an extensive cave, hewn out of the solid rock, forming what undoubtedly was, in inscrutable antiquity, a Gontoo temple; it is eighty or ninety feet long, and forty broad, but only ten feet high; it is supported toward the middle, at equal distances from the sides, by two regular rows of pillars, of the same substance with the rock; these are thirty-six in number. Each pillar is divided into three equal parts; the pedestal being one, the shaft another, and the capital, including the entablature, the third. The pedestals are square, the shafts rudely grooved, and not as usual cylindrical, but gradually widening in the centre, their greatest diameter being more than half their height; the capitals are grooved; the entablatures are simple, and without distinct divisions of members. These proportions and forms, so different from

from Grecian rules, are not pleasing to a correct taste, but as they have in themselves the strictest uniformity of common principle, they undoubtedly prove the arts to be far advanced at the period of their construction. At the farther end of this temple are three gigantic figures, which were much maimed and defaced by the Portuguese, when they took possession of the island. Their zeal to destroy the remains of ancient idolatry, led them, when they found the rock impenetrable to their tools, to bring cannon to discharge against them. Lieutenant Colonel Barry, who visited this cave since Mr. Grose, says, the central figure is an image of the quadruple-faced Brimha, the God of the Bedas. On the right side are likewise several images. On each side of this cave, to the right and left from the entrance, are openings which lead to smaller caves, and from them to the outer part of the mountain on which they stand. The outlet on the left hand is into an area of about twenty feet in length, and twelve broad; at the upper end of which is a covered colonade, which joins to an apartment of the most regular architecture, round the cornices of which are some paintings remarkable for the beauty and freshness of their colouring, although they must have been executed some thousand years ago.

RELIGION of the PARSEES.] There seems to be two distinctions necessary to be made in the religion of the Parsees, or Zoures, who transplanted themselves

elves from Persia, when the Mahometans conquered that country: the first, the pure religion, as taught by Zoroaster; and the second and more modern one, disfigured by various adulterations, as it is at present practised among the Parsees of India and Persia.

Zoroaster flourished under the reign of Hytaspes, King of Persia, about five hundred years before the birth of our Saviour, (see the history of Persia which follows) and was profoundly versed in mathematics and natural philosophy, whence he probably derived those sublime notions in relation to fire, on which he founded the basis of his religion, and which his followers still retain.

It is however evident that he found an homage paid to that element already established in the country, since Pyræums, or conservatories of perennial fire were known to be there long before his time; but whether such worship of it was a religious act, or whatever it might be, it was accompanied by many idolatrous rites; and Zoroaster exerted himself to purge it of its gross errors, and reduce it to the two grand points on which he founded his religion; namely, the belief of one Supreme God, and of the sun, or element of fire, being his first minister, and also the symbol of his purity; from these principles the rest of his opinions flowed.

Some writers maintain that there were two Zoroasters; and that the last, arising six hundred years after the first, explained and new modelled his religion,

ligion, which he stripped of the errors and superstitious practices by which it had been disfigured.

Be that as it may, agreeably to the above doctrine, the followers of Zoroaster are still so penetrated with the idea of the immensity and omnipresence of God, that they esteem it a proof of great narrowness of sentiment to erect temples to him, as conveying the groveling idea of confining him who fills all space between four walls; hence they make use of that celebrated saying, that "There is no temple worthy of the majesty of God, except the whole universe, and the heart of an honest man." Of all their opinions, they esteem that most sacred, that God was the sole necessary self-existent Being from all eternity, and is the supreme author of all good. Hence they detest the schism of those Persians who admit the co-eternity of the two principles of good and evil, and all the absurdities of Manicheism.

They maintain, since many effects in nature, which at the first view appear to be evils, are justified as to the wisdom of their causes, by their ultimately issuing in a known ~~superior~~ good; therefore it is just we should believe that all the rest are so, though their ends, probably for very wise reasons, are concealed from us. Hence they allege, that it is the utmost rashness and impiety to infer absolute evil from some individuals occasionally appearing to suffer, from those primordial laws to which God has subjected all his works in general, without excepting man,

man, whose good has been as much consulted as was fitting it should be, of which God ought surely to be esteemed a competent judge. Hence they deny that omnipotence has introduced real evil into nature; and maintain, that no evil actually exists but what is imaginary, temporary, and bearing no proportion to real, infinite, and eternal goodness.

As to fire, they place its source in the sun, to which they pay a very high reverence, out of gratitude for the numerous benefits which flow from it; but they are so far from confounding the subordination of the servant with the majesty of the Creator, that they attribute no degree of sense to the sun, or fire, in any of its operations; but consider it as a purely passive, blind instrument, directed and governed by its Creator. They even give that luminary, all-glorious as it is, no more than the second rank among his works, reserving the first for that stupendous production of divine power, the mind of man.

They believe the immortality of the soul, and found the doctrine of rewards and punishments in the other life on the light of reason, which enables them to perceive the difference between right and wrong; or, to speak in their figurative style, the conflict between Oroozm the good principle, and Harryman the evil one; or between the flesh and the purer spirit. As to future punishments, they exclude material burning from forming any part of them, and esteem the element of fire too pure and too noble to be employed in the office of an execu-

tioner. They even pretend, that the fire of divine love will moderate the punishments inflicted by justice.

The modern Parsees represent the place of future suffering as a dark, dreary, disconsolate region, replete with horror, pain, and disgust; caverns abounding with serpents, water thick like melted pitch, and cold as snow. They do not, however, hold these punishments to be eternal, but imagine that the guilty sufferers will be at length delivered, and even placed in a state of bliss, but inferior to that of the good, from whom they will also be distinguished by a brand in their foreheads. In fine, they imagine that, both in degree and duration, these punishments will be proportioned to human frailty; but that rewards, like the Divine goodness, will be infinite and unbounded.

Such was the doctrine of Zoroaster, as may still be collected, notwithstanding the adulterations it has undergone; for the religion of that great man was too simple to satisfy the gross conceptions of the vulgar, or to answer the lucrative views of the chief Magi, now known in India by the name of dustoors, or directors of their ritual. These have debased the religion of Zoroaster, by introducing into it their own reveries, and corrupting its original purity. His books have been long since lost, and the present work, called, *The Zendavastaw*, was written, in the same old Persian language, by *Erdab, Viraph*, one of the chief Magi, who pretended to compile it by memory.

now from the ancient work, and of this a translation was made into the modern Persian, about two hundred and sixty years ago, and entitled *Saad-irr*, or "The Hundred Gates." In this work, the original doctrines of the Zoroastrians are sophisticated by interpolations, and introducing superstitions that have greatly disfigured that religion. They still keep *pyres*, or conservatories of fire, in which lamps are kept continually burning, being fed with oil by priests who constantly attend them; these lambent flames, they assert, have burnt, without having been ever extinguished, for many centuries.

"Yet, notwithstanding the superstitious follies ingrafted on the original stock of this religion, such," continues our author, "has been the force of its sap, as to prevent the fruit from being spoiled; for even at present the Parsees are remarkably distinguished by their purity of morals and simplicity of conduct."

It is said, that the greatest honour these people think they can do to the remains of their deceased friends, is to expose them to be devoured by birds of prey; for these living tombs they esteem preferable to any other kind of sepulchre. About a mile from the city of Surat, they have a place to which they carry their dead; this is within a circular wall, open at the top, twelve feet high, and one hundred in circumference. The ground within is raised about four feet, and made sloping, that all the moisture may drain from the carcases into a sink made

for that purpose; nothing can exhibit a more shocking appearance than this burying ground, as it is called, where are seen a multitude of dead bodies, loathsome and discoloured; some green, some yellow, some with their eyes torn out by the vultures, and some with all the flesh of their cheeks pulled off; great holes eaten in different parts of their bodies, and carcases torn and mangled. The vultures, it is observed, will place themselves down the wind, in order to enjoy the smell of these carcases; and sometimes cram themselves with human flesh, till they are scarce able to fly.

[LAWS AND CUSTOMS OF THE GENTOOS.] We have already observed, that Mr. Hastings, when governor-general of Bengal, was the noble patron of oriental literature. The eleven learned Brahmins whom he assembled began to form these Hastingsian Institutes in May 1773, and completed them at the end of April 1775. It appears from this laborious research (during which twenty books of the highest authority and most respectable antiquity were consulted, and every light which they threw upon the subject collected and concentrated) that the Hindoos had written laws, but that these were scattered among their ancient writings, in an unconnected manner, among subjects of a different kind. The Code of Laws thus formed, which is called "Translation of a Pootee, or compilation of the ordinances of the Pundits," treats very copiously on lending and borrowing; of the distribution of inheritable property;

property; of justice; and of what respects the conduct and treatment of women; with a great variety of other matters, which respect the interests and connections of mankind in a state of society. The punishments for crimes chiefly consist in fines; yet, in exact agreement with the Jewish laws, it is said (page 233) "If a man deprives another of life, the magistrate shall deprive that person of life." If a Brahmin deprives any person of life, his life shall not be taken in return, but he shall be fined one hundred Ashrufiles (which is the most valuable gold coin). If a man has put out both the eyes of any person, the magistrate shall deprive that man of both his eyes, condemn him to perpetual imprisonment, and fine him 800 puns of cowries (each pun consisting of 80 cowries). But although in these laws Brahmins are exempted from capital punishment, yet they may be degraded, branded, imprisoned for life, or sent into perpetual exile; but it is every where ordained that a Brahmin shall not be put to death on any account whatever. In chap. iii. sect. 3, page 109, is the following passage: "If a Brahmin should come with intent to murder another, and that person has no means of escaping, and cannot save his own life but by the death of the Brahmin, in that case, if he should even kill the Brahmin, the magistrate shall not take a fine from him: also, if a cow should attempt to kill any person, and there is no way of escaping, that person may kill the cow, for the preservation of his own life, and in this case, he

shall not be amenable." It is well known, though not expressed in this body of laws, that among the Gentoos, criminals sentenced to death are not to be strangled, suffocated, or poisoned, but to be cut off by the sword, because, without an effusion of blood, malefactors are supposed to die with all their sins about them; but shedding their blood is considered as expiating their crimes. The unjust punishment of Nundcomar, who was hanged on a gibbet in violation of the laws of his country, and even by an *ex post facto* English law, was aggravated by that circumstance of horror, that he died without an effusion of blood. Amongst a people so gentle, mild, and compassionate, one would not expect to find so cruel a punishment decreed for beating or ill treating a magistrate who has been detected in committing a crime: it is decreed (p. 234) that the magistrate shall thrust an iron spit through the offender, and roast him at the fire.—So high a sense is entertained of the sacredness of magistracy, even when the magistrate has committed a crime, that one of the most cruel deaths, which human ingenuity can invent, is incurred by insulting it, and the offence is expressly compared to the greatest act of human depravity which these people can conceive of, namely, the murdering of an hundred Brahmins! but a Brahmin thus offending is not to suffer death, but to be fined 100 Ashrupees.

The laws respecting women being as curious as any in this curious collection of laws, we shall select the following.

following. (P. 271.) "If a man by force commits adultery with a woman of an equal or inferior caste, against her consent, the magistrate shall confiscate all his possessions, cut off his penis, castrate him, and cause him to be led round the city mounted upon an ass." If a man by cunning and deceit commits the act with a woman of an equal or inferior caste, the offender shall lose all his possessions, be branded in the forehead with the mark of the *puendum muliebre*, and banished the kingdom. If, either by force or cunning, a man commits the act with a woman of a superior caste, the magistrate shall deprive him of life. (P. 279.) "If a woman of bad character (except the wife of a Brahmin) who has no master, of her own accord goes to a man for a criminal purpose, that man, after having given information to the magistrate, may have carnal knowledge of her, and is not liable to punishment." The twentieth chapter, which treats of what concerns women, concludes with defining what the law is respecting the wife's burning. (P. 286.) "It is proper for a woman, after her husband's death, to burn herself in the fire with his corpse; every woman who thus burns herself shall remain in paradise with her husband three crore and fifty lacks of years, by destiny: if she cannot burn, she must, in that case, preserve an inviolable chastity: if she remains always chaste she goes to paradise; if she does not preserve her chastity, she goes to hell." See a particular account of several instances of the ceremony attending these self-

devoted victims, in *Payne's System of Geography*, vol. I, page 191, 192, and 193.

The ordeal trials of melted lead, or boiling oil, as practised here, are considered by the Gentoos as a standing miracle. The ceremony is performed with great solemnity. The party who has appealed to this trial for his innocence, whether on suspicion of murder, theft, conjugal infidelity in the women, or even in denying a debt, is publicly brought to the side of the fire, on which is a cauldron, or ladle-full of boiling water, or oil, but most commonly melted lead: the prince or magistrates of the country being present, his hand is previously clean washed, and a leaf of the brab-tree, with the accusation written upon it, is girt round his waist; and then on a solemn invocation of the Deity by a Brahmin, the person plunges in his hand, scoops up the boiling fluid, and if he draws it out unhurt is absolved, otherwise he receives the punishment prescribed by the laws for the crime against which the accusation lay; and so firm is the belief in this method of purgation on the coast of Malabar, that even some of the Indian Christians and Moors, fearful of pain, maiming, and disgrace, have voluntarily submitted their cause to that decision; but such, no doubt, had previously taken the proper measures to secure this miraculous confirmation of their innocence.

This method of discriminating between guilt and innocence, is mentioned in the third chapter of the Code of Gentoos laws, (which treats of justice) under the

the name of *Purrekeb*, and Mr. Halhed says, in his preface, p. lviii. that, "the modes of this ordeal are various in India, according to the choice of the parties, or the nature of the offence; but the infallibility of the result is, to this day, as implicitly believed as it could have been in the darkest ages of antiquity."

Singular as this practice is, the Gentoos do not appear to be the only people who retain it, for we are told that the Poglizans, a people inhabiting some of the islands and a part of the coast of Dalmatia, at this day make use of proofs by fire and boiling water, to discriminate between guilt and innocence, and the victims of this institution are sometimes seen disabled and half roasted. See *Abbé Fortis's Travels into Dalmatia*, p. 251.

TRIBES OR CASTES of the GENTOOS, or HINDOOS.] Gentio is a Portuguese word, meaning Gentile, by which general appellation all the natives of India were at first called, whether they were Mahomedans or Hindoos: but the English, and other nations, have adopted the term Gentoos, to distinguish the Hindoos, or followers of Brimha, from the Mahometans, or Mussulmans, whom they commonly, though improperly, called Moors, or Moormen. *Bolts's Considerations on Indian Affairs*.

The Hindoos have from all antiquity been divided into four great tribes, each of which comprehends a variety of inferior casts. These tribes do not intermarry, eat, drink, or in any manner associate with one another, except when they worship at the temple

ple of Jagganat (the being who is said to preside over the present period) in Orissa, where it is held a crime to make any distinction.

The first and most noble tribe are the Brahm̃ins, who alone can officiate in the priesthood, like the Levites among the Jews. They are not, however, excluded from government, trade, or agriculture, though they are strictly prohibited from all menial offices by their laws. They derive their name from Brimha, whom they allegorically say produced the Brahm̃ins from his head when he created the world. The second in order is the Chehteree tribe. They, according to their original institution, ought to be all military men; but they frequently follow other professions. Brimha is said to have produced the Chehteree from his heart, as an emblem of that courage which warriors should possess. The name of Beise, or Bice, is given to the third tribe. They are for the most part merchants, bankers, and cunias, or shopkeepers. These are figuratively said to have sprung from the belly of Brimha; the word Beish signifying a provider or nourisher. The fourth tribe is that of Sooder. They ought to be menial servants, and they are incapable of raising themselves to any superior rank. These are said to have proceeded from the feet of Brimha, in allusion to their low degree. But indeed it is contrary to the inviolable laws of the Hindoos, that any person should rise from an inferior cast into a higher tribe. If any, therefore, should be excommunicated from any of the

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the four tribes, he and his posterity are for ever shut out from the society of every cast in the nation. This severity prevents all intermixture of blood between the tribes, so that in their appearance, they seem rather four different nations, than members of the same community.

The Banyans, or, as they are styled, "Black Merchants," are in general the most honest, frank, and open dealers in the world; except where they have been corrupted by the Europeans. Those of Surat, notwithstanding European intercourse, are famous for the simplicity and frankness of their transactions. As an instance of this, on a ship's coming thither laden with goods, nothing more is necessary to be done than for the commander or supercargo to bring his musters or samples on shore, together with his invoice; and these merchants resorting to him, will, if the assortment suits them, immediately strike a bargain for the whole cargo, with no other trouble than settling the per centage upon the items of the invoice. "In this manner," says Mr. Grose, "many a cargo, from five to thirty thousand pounds, and upward, has been sold in half an hour's time, with very few words, and the amount immediately paid, either in ready money, or by barter, according as the buyer and seller have agreed, with as much probity as is ever practised by European merchants of the most established character."

The attachment of an Hindoo to the peculiar tenets of his religion as well as to his tribe, cannot

be more strongly instanced than in the following anecdote, from *Mr. Verelst's account of Bengal*.

“An Hindoo had been bribed to procure some papers belonging to a gentleman who died in the company's service. The son caught him in the fact; and in revenge of his treachery, compelled him to swallow a spoonful of broth. Ridiculous as the punishment may seem, it was attended with very serious consequences. No sooner was his pollution known, than he was degraded from his cast; lost all the benefits of society, and was avoided as a leper by his tribe.” When a man is thus disgraced, he is henceforward obliged to herd with the *Hallachores*, “who,” says Mr. Scrafton, “can scarcely be called a tribe, being the refuse of all tribes. There are a set of poor unhappy wretches, destined to misery from their birth. They perform all the vilest offices in life, bury the dead, and carry away every thing that is polluted. They are held in such abomination, that on the Malabar side of India, if one of these chances to touch a man of a superior tribe, he draws his sabre and cuts him down on the spot, without any check from his own conscience, or from the laws of the country.” In this miserable situation was the above poor Hindoo, when lord Clive prevailed on the Brahmins to assemble, and consult if there could not be a remission of an involuntary deviation from their law: after much deliberation, the Brahmins affected a compliance, but the man was never restored to his tribe. According to Mr. Halhed,

a man

a man born of a mixed cast is called a *Burrun-Sunker*. *Code of Gentoo Laws*, p. 42.

The Mahometan governors often take advantage of this principle, when they want to extort money; and so highly do the Hindoos value their religious purity, that after they have borne the severest corporeal punishment, rather than discover their wealth, a threat of defilement will effect what torture has attempted in vain. *Verelst's Present State of Bengal*, p. 142.

As the Hindoos wholly abstain from animal food, the simplicity of their lives appears strictly correspondent with that of their diet; for this regimen, an ingenious traveller observes, seems to have an influence on their minds as well as on their bodies, they being generally free from the more violent passions and from restless pursuits, except what an eager avarice excites; those of them at least who enter into temporal affairs, may vie with any other condition of men in their love of gain. Their constitutions are generally healthy, though they are not strong bodied. Their senses of smell and taste are exquisite, which they doubtless owe to their abstinence from flesh: thus to them flowers produce a much stronger odour than the same sort would to Europeans; and they are as nice in the taste of different waters as the latter are in that of wines, and make as great a point of luxury in the choice of them. It is also observable, that wounds are much sooner and much easier cured, when the patient is
used

used only to a vegetable diet, than when he feeds upon flesh, the body being free from those gross humours which flesh-diet creates. That love of indolence and inaction which generally prevails among the Gentoos, causes them proverbially to quote this passage from the writings of one of their authors: "It is better to sit still than to walk; better to sleep than to wake; but death is best of all."

The Hindoos discover a wonderful insensibility to the distresses and dangers of their fellow creatures. An English gentleman was standing by one of them, when an enormously large and fierce tyger sprang from a thicket, and carried off a child, the son of one of his neighbours, who uttered the most piercing cries; the Englishman expressed the utmost concern and horror at the event, while the Hindoo remained unmoved. "What!" exclaimed the former, "are you unaffected by so dreadful a scene?" "The great God," replied the other, "would have it so." Although the Hindoos are naturally the most inoffensive of all mortals, yet does their humanity consist more in abstaining from injuries than in the performance of beneficent actions.

From the difference of castes, (a Portuguese word, importing a class or tribe) of the Hindoos in Hindostan, there arises a difference of education; but even the inferior classes are taught reading, writing, and arithmetic. The youth are taught, not within doors, but in the open air; and it is a spectacle no less pleasing than singular, to see, in every village,

village, a venerable old man, reclined on a terraced plain, teaching a number of surrounding boys, who regard him with the utmost reverence and attention. In those simple seminaries, the gentle Hindoos are not only prepared for the businesses, but instructed in the duties of life: consisting in a profound veneration for the object or objects of religious worship, reverence of their parents, respect for their seniors, justice and humanity toward all men, but a particular affection for those of their own caste. *Mackintosh's Travels*, I. 323.

The Gentoo merchants also use the same method with their children, initiating them with the first dawn of reason into all the mysteries of trade; so that it is not uncommon to see boys of ten or twelve years of age so acute and expert, that it would be difficult to overreach them in a bargain; and, indeed, their docility, sedateness, and the awful respect they pay their parents, are surprising, considering the extreme fondness of those parents; but they have the good sense to temper it so judiciously as not to spoil their children.

“In the east,” says colonel Dow, “there are no public places of resort, no communication of sentiments, no introduction to private friendships. A sullenness, a love of retirement prevail, which disunite mankind; and, as all associations among men are prevented, the hands of government are strengthened by the very virtue of temperance.”

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The Hindoos, or Gentoos, greatly exceed the Mahomedans in number. They are a mild, humane, obedient, and industrious race of men. Temperate in their living, and delicate in their constitutions; their passions are calm; and they have no object but that of living with comfort and ease. Tame and submissive, from the coldness of a vegetable diet, they have a natural abhorrence to blood. Those countries governed by native princes, which lie beyond the devastations of the Mahomedans, are rich and cultivated to the highest degree. *Dow's Introductory Pref. to his Hist. of Hindostan.*

This distinction of the Gentoos into casts or tribes, forms a remarkable peculiarity in their religion and government, and has both its conveniencies and inconveniencies. Thus great injustice is frequently done to genius and talents, to which they pay no regard, nor make any allowance for that infinite diversity produced by nature. Thus, some are confined to make an insignificant figure in one sphere, who might shine in another.

As most of these tribes have a chief, who is in some measure accountable for the conduct of the individuals of which his tribe is composed, this regulation gratifies the views of government: the individuals, on any necessary occasion, being either numbered or assembled with ease and expedition.

Among the *naires*, or nobles, principally prevails the strange custom of one wife being common to a number; in which the great power of custom is seen.

seen, in its never producing any jealousies or quarrels among those who possess the same woman. Beside, the number of these husbands is not so much limited by any specific law, as by a kind of tacit convention, by which it seldom happens that it exceeds six or seven. The woman is, however, under no obligation to admit more than a single attachment, though she is not the less respected for using her privilege in its utmost extent; and they are sometimes said to have twelve husbands; but they, as well as she, must be all of the same tribe.

When the daughter of a nair is married to the first of her husbands, he builds her a house, in which he alone cohabits with her, till she takes a second. The husbands all agree, and cohabit with her by turns, according to their priority of marriage, each eight or ten days, or as they can fix the term among themselves; and he who lives with her, during that time provides for her support. When the man who cohabits with her goes into her house, he leaves his arms at the door, and none dare remove them, or enter the house, on pain of death; but if there are no arms to guard the door, any of them may freely visit her. During the time of cohabitation, she serves her husband as purveyor and cook; she also takes care to keep his clothes and arms clean. When she proves with child, she nominates its father, who takes care of its education, after she has suckled it, and taught it to walk and speak; but from the impossibility of assigning the true heir, the estates of

the husbands descend to their sister's children, and if there are no such heirs, then to the nearest in blood to the grandmother.

THE MAHRATTAS, OR MARATTAS.

These people are chiefly composed of *Rajaputs*, or that tribe of Hindoo or Gentoo Indians whose chief business is war, yet they are represented by colonel Dow, as retaining the mildness of the other casts of Gentoos in their internal government. These are called by Mr. Halhed, "the Chehtere tribe;" so perplexingly various are the proper names for the same thing, which are given by different writers upon the affairs of this country!

When their armies carry destruction and death into the territories of Mahometans, all is quiet, happy, and regular at home. No robbery is to be dreaded, no imposition or obstruction from the officers of government, no protection necessary but the shade. To be a stranger is sufficient security. Provisions are furnished by hospitality; and when a peasant is asked for water, he runs with great alacrity, and fetches milk.

The common people are equally bred to agriculture and arms; but the pay of those in actual service is extremely small, and not furnished in money, but in rice, tobacco, salt, pieces of cloth, and in the other necessaries of life. They have extended their dominions by the sword, and, as they encourage Europeans to desert to them, have learned the art
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of war, and can form regular sieges, but are best fitted for sudden excursions.

Their horses, on which they principally rely, are small but hardy, and sure-footed. Many of the men have musquets; but they are very indifferent ones, and most of them match-locks: but their chief dependance is on their swords and targets; the former are of an admirable temper; and the men, who are well trained in the exercise of them, look with great contempt on those brought by the ships from Europe. Their targets are perfectly round, and rise in the middle almost to a point; they are hard, smooth, light, and well varnished; they will therefore easily turn a pistol ball, and at some distance the ball of a musquet. They have likewise among them excellent archers and slingers.

Their food is extremely portable, being only a little rice, and water, in a leathern flask; so that every foldier carries his own allowance; the officers themselves have no better diet, especially during their expeditions, which are conducted with great address and amazing rapidity.

The ancient seat of the Mahratta government was at Sattarah, situated near the eastern foot of the Gaunts, or Ghaunts; the most distant source of the river Kistnah rises in its neighbourhood: but the capital has since been transferred to Poonah.

These people, from time immemorial, have had settlements to the north of Delhi, great part of which they still possess, though such numbers were driven thence by Aurengzebe, that he employed above

twenty years to reduce them in their new settlement in the mountainous parts of the Deccan. Ever since they have carried on continual wars with the Moguls, subahs, and nabobs, and have made innumerable treaties of peace, which they only observed while it suited their interest.

The derivation of the name Mahratta (or Morattoe) has been the subject of much conjecture; Ferishtâ, in his history of Hindostan, says, that Marhat was the name of a province in the Deccan, and that it comprehended Bagland (or Bogilana) and other districts, which at present forms the most central part of the Mahrattas' dominions. The same thing is asserted in the history of the Deccan, which is translated by captain Scott, and just published.

The following account is chiefly drawn from major Rennell's Introduction.

Savagee may be considered as the founder of the Mahratta empire. It is generally supposed, that his grandfather was the illegitimate son of a Rana of Oudipour, the chief of the Rājput (Rajaput) princes. He took the name of Bonfola; which was that of the tribe to which his mother belonged. After the death of his father, he became so much disgusted at the indignities offered to him by his brothers; on account of his birth, that he quitted his own country and repaired to the Deccan, where he entered into the service of the king of Bejapour, or Vissapour, under whom he soon attained to a distinguished military rank, and in which his son succeeded; but his grandson Sevagee, who was born in 1628, disdaining the condition of a subject, raised himself

himself to independence. So rapid were his conquests, that he was become formidable to the armies of the Mogul empire, before Aurengzebe's accession to power, having possessed himself of the principal part of the mountainous province of Baglana, and the low country of Conean, situated between it and the western sea; he had also acquired from the kingdom of Viliapour the important fortrefs of Pannela, which commanded an entrance into the heart of it from the side of Baglana; together with several other places of strength in the Carnatic, he had possession of Gingee, together with an extensive district round it. He also plundered Surat, and Golconda, and even attacked Goa, when the power of the Portuguese was at its height.

His son Sambajee, though possessed of considerable abilities, both as a statesman and general, fell a sacrifice to debauchery: in one of his loose excursions, he was treacherously seized on, and cruelly put to death by Aurungzebe in 1689. This however produced no submission on the part of the Mahrattas, who still increased in power, though not so rapidly as before.

Sahoo, or Sahoojee, vulgarly Saow, or Sow Rajah, succeeded his father Sambajee at a very early age. He reigned more than fifty years; in which time the Mahratta power grew up to a wonderful height. The disputes concerning the succession among Aurengzebe's sons were very favourable to this growth. About the year 1736, the Mahrattas took part in the dispute between the nabobs

of Arcot, in the Carnatic, within which district the principal European settlements on the coast of Comorandel are situated; which disputes eventually engaged the French and English East-India companies in scenes of hostility for several years. During this reign likewise, a tribute was demanded and obtained from Mahomed Shah, and the fine province of Malwa was wrested from him: the tribute which was procured consisted in a grant of the fourth part of the net revenues of the other provinces in general; which proportion is expressed in the language of Hindoostan by "a chout;" and all future demands of the Mahrattas were therefore denominated chouts.

About the year 1738, the Rohillas, a tribe from the mountains which lie between India and Persia, erected an independent state on the east of the Ganges; and within eighty miles of Delhi.

Sahoojee died in 1740, when the Mahratta state was possessed of all the country from the western sea to Orissa, and from Agra to the Carnatic; whilst almost all the rest of Hindoostan, Bengal excepted, had been overrun and plundered. He was succeeded by Ram Rajah, a weak prince, who was superseded by his two chief officers, the Paishwah, or minister, and the Bukshi, or commander in chief. The one named Bajirow, the other Ragojee. The former possessed himself of the western provinces, the latter of the eastern. Poonah continued to be the seat of the western government, and Nagpore, in Berar became the capital of the eastern. Bajirow con-

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fined his master Ram Rajah to the fortrefs of Sitwarah, and governed the provinces in his name. In a few years that absolute government which had prevailed among the Mahrattas was entirely done away, and something like a kind of feudal government succeeded. The two chiefs who had usurped the power, maintained an amicable alliance for the purpose of promoting their separate interests more effectually. The Berah chief was less powerful than the western prince; therefore, in order to strengthen himself, he formed a close alliance with the Nizam Ally, or the Soubah of the Deccan, a younger son of the famous Nizam-al-Mulyck, spoken of page 170. The territories of this prince comprise the province of Golconda.

In the year 1742, both the Mahratta states confederated to invade Bengal, and the force which each employed was computed to amount to 80,000 horsemen. Moorshedabad, the capital, situated on the westernmost branch of the Ganges, which is navigable only during a part of the year, and is twelve miles from the collected waters of that river, was attacked by these invaders, and ably defended by Alliverdy Cawn, who, four years before, had thrown off all dependence on the Delhian emperor, and assumed the sovereignty of the province. The capital escaped the fury of the plunderers, but the open country, which, from its level nature, lay defenceless, was exposed to every outrage, and the inhabitants were treated with the most wanton cruelty.

cruelty. These depredations continued for the space of two years, for so long the Mahrattas kept possession of the country, and on leaving it, they established a chout, which, however, was never regularly paid.

The Berah Mahrattas, some years afterward, obtained possession of the Orissa province, which being separated from Bengal only by a small river, enabled them to commit devastations on the confines; but in the year 1761, Cossim Ally, then the nabob of Bengal, ceded the provinces of Badwan and Midnapour to the English.

Whilst these transactions took place to the eastward, Bajirow, the western usurper, wrested from the Portuguese the fortress of Bascen, and the little island of Salsette contiguous to it, to the northward of Bombay, leaving them only their settlement of Goa. He died in 1759, and left the paiswahship to his son Ballajee, who was considered as having acquired an hereditary claim to it.

About this time a design had been formed by the Mahrattas, entirely to subdue the Mahomedan power, and to restore the Hindoo government throughout the empire. They were stimulated to this attempt by the confusions and revolutions which had reduced it to the enfeebled condition in which it then was. In this design they were joined by the Jats, a tribe of Hindoos, who, some time after the death of Aurungzebe, erected an independent state in the provinces of Agra and Delhi. To oppose this confederacy,

deracy, and render its designs abortive. Abdalla made his sixth expedition into India; he was joined by Sujah Dowlan, the Rohillas; and some inferior Mahomedan chiefs. A battle ensued, in the old scene of warfare, the plains of Carnawl and Panniput. 150,000 Mahomedans are said to have engaged 200,000 Hindoos. Before the battle was joined, the Jats deserted their allies, which tended very much to turn the fortune of the day. This was the most obstinate and bloody fight which the records of Hindoostan furnish an account of: it was fought in the year 1761, and the victory which Abdalla obtained that day was most signal and decisive. Of the vanquished, vast numbers were slain as well as made prisoners. The conflict was maintained with great valour on both sides. The best generals among the Mahrattas perished, and the flower of their army. Bellajee survived this decisive defeat but a short time; he was succeeded by his son Maderow.

The Mahrattas, ever restless and prone to hostile operations, being no longer capable of conflicting with the Mahomedans, found occasion to wage war with their neighbour the Nizam, and gradually wrested from him a considerable part of his territory to the N. and W. of Aurungabad.

Maderow died in 1772, and was succeeded by his son Narain Row, who was murdered the following year by Ragobah, his uncle, a son of Bajirow, the first paishwah who assumed the sovereignty; but this atrocious

atrocious act rendered him extremely odious, and the widow of Narian bringing forth a posthumous son, entirely excluded the murderer from the probability of obtaining the paishwahship, at which he aimed, and to obtain which he had embued his hands in his nephew's blood.

Ragobah had been a general in the war against Hyder Ally and the Nizam, where he had acquired considerable reputation; but now, finding his ambitious designs frustrated, he made overtures to the presidency at Bombay, to form an alliance with the English, and the advantages which he held out were so alluring, that the depravity of the man did not impede the acceptance of his offer. The first fruit of this treaty was the acquisition of the island of Salsette to the English; a spot of prodigious value to the Bombay settlement.

About this time the council-general of Bengal was invested with a controlling power over the other settlements in India; and the Mahratta war being disapproved, colonel Upton was sent to Poona, in 1776, to negotiate a peace; since known by the name of "the treaty of Pooroondar," by which Ragobah was to renounce his pretensions and receive a pension for life, whilst the English were to retain possession of Salsette: but the tranquillity thus restored was of very short duration; for toward the end of the following year, the Bombay company again espoused the cause of Ragobah, but were obliged to enter into a disgraceful convention, and

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to give up their asylumed murderer to his enemies, who being of Brahmin race, was not punished with death.

Another war has since followed, founded upon the most frivolous and disgraceful prettexts; by it the English acquired much, but were obliged to relinquish all their new conquests, on account of the heavy expence attending the war, and another breaking out with Hyder Ally in 1780.

HYDER ALLY, and TIPPOO SULTAN.

During the last thirty or forty years a very remarkable revolution has taken place in the peninsula of India, which has been effected by the extraordinary talents, and no less singular good fortune, of Hyder Ally, a Mahomedan general, who, according to the French historian of his life, was the son of a general of 10,000 horse in the army of the empire, and not sprung from the mean origin which has been represented. From his youth he was trained to arms; and, having a genius equally penetrating in the science of war and of government, in the year 1751, when no more than twenty-three years of age, he rendered the most essential services to the king of Mysore, by new modelling his army, and introducing European discipline and arms. In the year 1756, on the death of his elder brother, he became prince of a fertile territory, and possessed of an army of 18,000 men, 200 of which were Europeans, and 3000 of them excellent cavalry. The dissensions which

which prevailed among the petty princes of the country, served both to excite and gratify his ambitious views; and he rapidly extended his dominions, until, as the same author asserts, he became possessed of an empire which comprehended more than half the peninsula: or, according to major Rennell, "a state, in extent equal to Great Britain, and producing a gross revenue of four millions sterling!" The extent of sea-coast which he subdued, except such places as were held by Europeans, reached from a little to the southward of Goa, to somewhat northward of Angenga.

The Mahrattas inhabiting the Deccan viewed with a jealous eye the rise of such a formidable power; but the conqueror had the good policy so far to disarm their fears of him, that, considering the English as still more dangerous neighbours, they assisted him to drive them from the Carnatic, in which he had well-nigh proved successful; more from that discord which prevailed in the government there, and the injudicious and feeble measures which were taken to oppose the invader, than from any superior advantage which his vast armies afforded him.

In the year 1779, the whole Bombay army was brought into so distressing a situation as to be compelled to capitulate. In the autumn of 1780, Hyder penetrated into the Carnatic, with an army composed of horse and foot, which together amounted to 100,000. These were superior in discipline, and

every kind of military training, to any native troops which had ever before taken the field in India. With this force he cut to pieces colonel Bailey's detachment, composing the flower of the Madras army; after which success he seemed on the point of subverting the British power in the Carnatic; but the exertions of the governor-general (Mr. Hastings) in collecting a force, and the abilities of Sir Eyre Coote in directing its operations, effectually put a stop to the progress of this formidable invader, who, toward the close of 1782, made very sincere overtures for peace, but did not live to conclude one.

Hyder Ally, or, as he is called by the writer of his life, Ayder Aly Khan, died in December 1782, or the beginning of the 1197th of the Hegira; about five months after which his great opponent Sir Eyre Coote deceased. His son Tippoo Saib, since styled Tippoo Sultan, then became possessor of his power, as he had before been inheritor of his abilities. He possessed a deeply rooted enmity to the English, which the intrigues of the French, his good friends and allies, tended to foment and strengthen.

Strongly stimulated by such a disposition, he continued to maintain the war; and in April 1783, surprised and overpowered a detachment commanded by general Matthews, which had been sent to make a diversion on his territories to the westward, with a view to weaken his force in the Carnatic; but this contest, alike wasteful of treasure, territory, and
lives,

lives, was terminated by a peace, which was signed at Mangalore, in March 1784.

Never was a peace concluded in which the parties were less actuated by pacific dispositions: it removed no former grounds of jealousy; appeased no animosities; created no bond of union, by reconciling jarring interests: but as the exhausted state of the contending parties, and the indecisive events of the war, rendered a cessation from hostilities alike desirable to each, so they taught the necessity of effectually destroying all rivalry for power and territory by a future conflict, in which the victorious should give law to the vanquished. With these political sentiments each party entertained the most flattering hopes of finally triumphing over its competitor.

The English government in India had become solid and organized; the spirit of speculation had been greatly repressed; the several departments were ably filled, which procured confidence and respect from the neighbouring country powers: Great Britain, at length disengaged from the ruinous war with America, turned its views to India, as to the country whence a revenue was to be drawn which should relieve the exigencies of the state, overwhelmed with an enormous debt and accumulating taxes. This could only be effected by assisting the government in India against all rival powers.

Nor were the expectations of Tippoo less sanguine.

guine. Trained in the science of eastern government, by his able father, from his earliest years, he was equally qualified to govern in peace, and to preside in war; his despotic power was exercised over his subjects with such mildness, and his attention to their prosperity and happiness was so unremitted, that the Myfore country became the most populous and highly cultivated part of India; whose sovereign was served, and his orders obeyed with such fidelity and attention, as excited admiration even in his enemies. Whilst prosperity thus accompanied him around, ambition took the entire possession of his breast. Soon after his father's death, he assumed the title of Sultan, and began to strengthen his interest, by discovering an ardent zeal for the support and strength of the true faith. His great seal was inscribed with a text from the Koran, chap. 44. "I am the messenger (or sultan) of the true faith." Round the edge of the seal was expressed, in Arabic characters, "From conquest, and the protection of the royal Hyder, comes my title of Sultan; and the world, as under the sun and moon, is under my signet." In December, 1786, he published an address to Mussulmans in general, the purport of which was to declare his intention to wage perpetual war with all those who did not embrace the true faith; and to invite all Mussulmans into his dominions, by the promise of protection and employment; with support if needful. To compass his ambitious designs he amassed

amassed very great treasures: he had an army, according to major Dirom, (*page 249 of his Narrative*) of 18,000 cavalry, 50,000 regular infantry, and twice that number of irregular infantry, employed to garrison his forts, and for the collection of his revenue. His supplies of military stores were prodigious. Tippoo was the first Mahometan prince since the establishment of the Mogul empire, who openly disclaimed the authority of the king of Delhi, or Great Mogul, and who impressed coin with only his own titles. Even the government of Bengal still preserve that external mark of respect to the fallen representative of the house of Timur. *Major Dirom's Narrative, page 250.* Still, however, his expectations were not bounded by his own potentiality: he sent a splendid embassy to the court of France (the first from an eastern prince to an European monarch), for the purpose of forming an alliance with a power then considered as capable of rendering essential support. The expectation was rational, although the dependence proved futile, from events impervious to human foresight and sagacity. From this statement of Tippoo's conduct, the English have charged him with having formed a design of subduing the whole continent of India, and of founding an empire greater in extent and power than that of the Mogul at its most splendid period.

Such was the political state of the peninsula of India, during the six years of peace which succeeded.

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The first open breach of the peace was on the part of Tippoo, who, in May 1790, attacked the troops of the Rajah of Travancore, an ally of, or rather a dependent on, the Madras government; in whose territory the Dutch held a district, with the port of Cochin, and the fort of Cranganore, the latter of which they had sold to the Rajah, whilst the right to that fort was claimed by Tippoo, who forcibly possessed himself of it. This was the signal for war. Earl Cornwallis, governor-general of Bengal and the council, immediately dispatched captain John Kennaway to the Nizam or Subadah of the Deccan, to conclude with him a treaty of offensive and defensive alliance; and Mr. Charles Warre Malet to the western Mahratta state for the like purpose. These treaties were speedily settled and ratified, the first on the 29th of July, the latter on the 5th of the same month. (The particulars of which may be seen in *Moor's Narrative*, pages 441—454.) By these treaties it was stipulated that a brigade of British troops should accompany, and act with, each army.

The main Carnatic army was immediately put in motion, and vast preparations made to carry on a most eventful war. This army was put under the command of general Medows; it mustered 14,000 men, and marched from Trichinopoli toward the Coimbatore country, which they entered the latter end of July. The plan of operations was, to enter Mysore to the southward, and to attack Tippoo in his capital of Seringapatam; to co-operate in which

a body of troops was sent from Bombay, under the command of general Abercromby. A force under colonel Kelly was destined to protect the Carnatic from invasion: the armies of the Poonah Maistias and the Nizam were to enter the Mysoore country to the northward, and thus by advancing on all sides to fix the seat of war in the heart of Tippoo's dominions; at the same time that effectual relief and security were given to the rajah of Travancore, whose country lay on the western coast of the peninsula of India, from Cape Comorin to about ten degrees twenty minutes north. The season for action was employed in reducing Tippoo's rich southern provinces below the Ghauts, by the main army; whilst his western possessions along that chain of mountains, as far as the Biliapatam river to the north, were reduced by the Bombay army. The country allies to the northward effected nothing. This inactivity, together with a great want of provisions in the British armies, prevented any thing more decisive being effected. Toward the end of the year 1790, the operations of the campaign closed. The main army returned to Trichinopoli, and was afterward ordered to Madras: general Abercromby led his forces back to Bombay.

Earl Cornwallis, the governor-general, left Bengal the beginning of December, and took upon him the command of the main army at Vellout, eighteen miles distant from Madras, on the 29th of January 1791, when general Medows became second in

in command. He penetrated into Mysore by the eastward, having deceived Tippoo, who opposed him with the grand army, by a feint, and taking an unexpected route, he sat down before the important fortress of Bangalore on the 5th of March, and although Tippoo's army appeared within ten miles of the place, no relief could be given to the besieged, nor any effectual means used to impede the operations of the besiegers. This valuable fortress was taken by storm on the 21st. The next month a part of the Nizam's army joined the British, and soon after colonel Oldham with 700 European soldiers, and a supply of provisions. The decisive stroke was now to be given to the war by the attack of Seringapatam, to cover which Tippoo had intrenched his army. On the 15th of May his camp was attacked, and he was obliged to retire with considerable loss, but in good order. No beneficial consequences, however, accrued to the English from this important success, as the junction with the Bombay army, under general Abercromby, could not be effected on account of the swell of the river, which obliged that general to lead back his troops to Bombay, in a very exhausted and debilitated state: the want of strong and able draught cattle, 40,000 having been lost during the campaign (*Major Dirom, p. 17*), and a great scarcity of provisions prevailed, whilst no intelligence had been received of the Poonah or western army; the commander in chief was therefore driven to the necessity of destroying his heavy artillery, and retiring to Bangalore. His progress thither was slow and impeded, but on the

second day after this retrograde motion commenced, the appearance of the advanced guard of the Mahratta army, at first created an alarm, by supposing it to be the approach of an enemy, until these apprehensions were removed; when it appeared that all intelligence of the movements of this army, sent from time to time, had been intercepted and cut off by the emissaries of the sultan.

As provisions were abundant in this army, the wants of the British were soon supplied, although the price demanded for every article was most exorbitant, but it was expedient to yield a ready compliance; and there was no scarcity of money.

Notwithstanding the fate which threatened his capital was at that time averted, yet Tippeo thought fit to send a Vakeel to earl Cornwallis, with full powers to treat of peace, but the proposal was rejected. Soon after, a detachment from the sultan's army attacked the town of Coimbertore, which had been taken by the English, and was commanded by lieutenant Chalmers, who, after a very gallant defence, was obliged to capitulate.

As the army approached Bangalore, all their sufferings and disappointments were forgotten in the inspiring information which they received. Not only an ample supply of every thing requisite again to take the field, with a most decided superiority of force, was in great forwardness of preparation; but advices had arrived, that the British parliament approved the war, and the conduct of the governor-general; that 500,000 pounds in specie was to be sent out that season by the company, and considerable

able augmentations to the army and artillery. *Major Dirom's Narrative, page 24.*

Early in December, general Abercromby proceeded through the Ghauts toward the Mysore country, and on the 1st of February 1792, the allied armies were put in motion. On the 5th, they arrived within sight of Seringapatam, when immediate preparations were made to attack the enemy the next night. Earl Cornwallis commanded the centre; general Medows the right wing, and colonel Maxwell the left. Before day-break Tippoo's army gave way, yet the action was sustained through the whole day, but at length the English possessed themselves of the palace and beautiful gardens of the sultan, to whom nothing remained but the citadel. Tippoo's haughty spirit then seemed to be subdued, and he deputed lieutenant Chalmers and another officer, who were his prisoners, to solicit peace. On the 16th of February, the Bombay army joined earl Cornwallis; it consisted of 2000 Europeans, and 4000 effective native troops. The pacific overtures from Tippoo did not, however, prevent an attack being made upon the fort of Seringapatam, but whilst the approaches were regularly carrying on, preliminaries for a peace were signed by the British commander and his allies; which caused hostilities to cease on the 23d; three days after which, two young princes, the one ten, the other eight years of age, the second and third sons of the sultan, arrived in the British camp, as hostages from their

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father, for his due fulfilment of the conditions; but it was not until the 19th of March that the definitive treaty was ratified.

It consisted of eight articles: by it the sultan stipulated to cede to the allied powers, one half of the dominions which were in his possession at the commencement of the war, subject to the selection of each, and adjacent to their respective boundaries, every district of which was fully specified in the treaty. To the Honourable the English Company, the country situated to the northward and eastward of the river Covery, which was to become the boundary between the two powers on the side of the Carnatic; whilst an extensive district along the sea-coast or the Malabar or western side was surrendered, extending from Travancore north westward, nearly to the thirteenth degree of latitude; the revenues of both which are stated to amount to 13,16,765 5 4 $\frac{1}{4}$ Canteray pagodas, each equal to three rupees; the whole amounting to thirty-nine and an half lacks of rupees. The districts ceded to the Nizam, and those to the Poonah Mahratta power, are described with equal accuracy, and their revenues stated to be exactly equal. Three crore and thirty lacks of rupees were to be paid by Tippoo Sultan, either in gold-moheers, pagodas, or bullion: one half to be paid down, and the other half in three payments, to be made at distances of time, not exceeding four months each.

Thus was this important war terminated in the space of one and twenty months, in which time all the

the force and resources of the dreaded sovereign of Mysore were overwhelmed. This signal achievement was brought about at the expence of two million of debt, contracted by the English East-India Company, (*Dirom, p 270.*) whose possessions, both on the Coromandel and Malabar sides of the peninsula, are now rendered secure from every hostile attack; and the three principal native powers there are become possessed of a more equalized territory. The generous and disinterested conduct of the English toward their allies in this partition-treaty, ought to cement a firm and durable friendship; for whilst the services of the native armies consisted merely in rendering countenance and nominal support to the common cause, every sacrifice of men and money, during the whole war, was made by the English, except one battle fought and a few forts taken by the Mahratta army, assisted by the Bombay detachment, under general Little. (*See Moor's Narrative of those operations, and his very valuable Map.*)

Whatever the Sultan now possesses he owes to the clemency of the conquerors.

CHAP. VI.

P E R S I A.

THOSE who delight to investigate the doubtful and conjectural origin of nations, have supposed that the human race, after the flood, was first dispersed over the regions which afterward bore the name of Persia, by Elam, or Elymas, the son of Shem, the first-born of Noah. In the writings of Moses, mention is made of the Elamites, a name by which the same people were sometimes distinguished many centuries after they were commonly known by the appellation of Persians; for in the Acts of the Apostles (chap. ii. verse 9) they are so called. In the prophecy of Daniel, the country is called Parus.

The earliest records (if we reject the doubtful and disputed traditions of the Chinese and Hindoos) place the grandeur and power of Persia in immediate succession to that of Egypt; for we may consider the Assyrian and Babylonian monarchies are founded in the country of which we are speaking. At that time, those extensive, fertile, and benign regions, now known by the general name of Persia, were possessed, to the northward, by the Médes, the middle regions by the Persians, and the southern by the Babylonians.

ans. The revolutions of the country have been since effected by that course of events, which has uniformly prevailed among the human race in every part of the globe; the inhabitants of the northern regions overran and subdued the country to the southward. The Medes, formed and led by Cyrus, son of Cambyfes, king of Persia, who, by inheritance from his maternal uncle Cyaxares, became king of Media, subdued the Babylonish monarchy; and the three kingdoms being united under one sovereign, whose absolute power served only to display his virtues and his talents, became the admiration and terror of the surrounding territories. The wisdom of his government gave permanency to that dominion which his martial endowments and good fortune had enabled him to acquire; so that the ferocity of a conqueror was tempered with the equity of a legislator. The force of his example, and the weight of his authority, were exerted to counteract the natural propensity of the Persians to sloth and effeminacy. After he had completed his conquests, he reigned over his widely-extended empire only seven years, and died 529 years before the Christian æra. In the ancient history of the world, the character of Cyrus shines with peculiar lustre; nor could the memory of this conqueror and statesman be more nobly immortalized than it is by the pen of Xenophon, who chose the personal character and wise government of this king, from which to take his model of a human being formed by nature, education,

tion, habits, and accomplishments, to rule mankind, and acting in every respect for the benefit of the people whom he governed: and the illustrious Ferdusi, who, according to Sir William Jones, deserves to be called the Homer of Persia, celebrates the successful war which Cyrus waged against Afrasiah, king of the Turanians, and the kings of Khatai and India, in a noble poem. Rostan, or Rustam, was the general under Cyrus in this war: he was of princely descent; and the Persians to this day entertain many fabulous notions concerning him.

In the person of Cambyfes, the son and successor of Cyrus, the virtues of the father were not to be traced. A tyrant in his own dominions, he aimed at spreading misery still wider. Egypt, subdued by his power, groaned under his oppressions. His rage for conquest led him to march a powerful army into Ethiopia; but from this expedition he was obliged to return disgracefully. It is conjectured that this prince is the same that is mentioned in the Jewish history, under the name of Ahasuerus. Smerdis, an impostor, succeeded him, and is called Artaxerxes, in Scripture: but he being soon cut off, Darius, son of Hystaspes, who was governor of the province of Persia, was advanced to the sovereignty by the general consent of the nobles. He extended his dominions on every side; reduced Thrace, and penetrated far into India. His sovereignty is said to have extended 2,800 English miles from E. to W. from the Hellespont to the mouth of the river
Indus,

Indus, exclusive of Thrace, which became tributary; and 2,000 miles from N. to S.; namely, from Pontus to the mouth of the Arabian gulf. This glare of greatness was produced by false notions of government, which caused the manners of the Persians to become effeminate, and their principles corrupt and base; while the empire became unwieldy from its vast extent. Darius had numerous armies, but no soldiers. An immense body of men was sent against the states of Greece, which was totally routed by nine thousand Greeks under Miltiades, at Marathon. Before Christ, 490.

The tribute which Darius Hystaspes levied upon those parts of India which he conquered, is asserted by Herodotus to have amounted to near one third of the whole revenue of the Persian monarchy. *lib. iii.* According to that writer, the Persian empire was, at that time, divided into twenty satrapys, or governments; and he specifies the tribute which was levied from each, which amounted in the whole to 14,568 Eubæan talents. According to Dr. Arbuthnot's Tables of Ancient Coins, the amount in pounds sterling is 2,807,437 pounds. Dr. Robertson justly remarks that such a sum was extremely small for the revenue of the great king; and ill accords with many facts concerning the riches, magnificence, and luxury of the East, that occur in ancient authors.

Xerxes, the son of Darius by a daughter of Cyrus, succeeding his father, endeavoured to wipe of the disgrace

disgrace at Marathon. Having strengthened his power at sea by forming a league with the Carthaginians, he led in person an army composed of 15,700,000 foot, and 8,000 horse, against Greece; if we may credit the assertion of Herodotus; who has been charged with sacrificing truth to fable and embellishment; but in this instance he may not be materially erroneous. Xerxes passed this immense army over from Asia into Europe, by forming a bridge across the Hellespont with boats closely lashed together. He directed his course to Attica through the kingdom of Thrace; but in passing the straits of Thermopylæ he was opposed by a small body of intrepid Spartans, who slew 20,000 Persians in the contest for entering the Grecian territories. In this action, Leonidas, king of Sparta, with 300 Spartans, called "the select band of brothers," voluntarily devoted themselves to death. Xerxes, after this dear-bought advantage, proceeded to Attica, and entered Athens; its inhabitants having taken refuge on board the Grecian fleet, which was commanded by Themistocles, who soon after gained a memorable victory over the Persian fleet at Salamis: an action equally decisive as that of Marathon, and performed ten years after it. Xerxes finding his communication with Asia cut off, by the Greeks being masters at sea, began to despond; and being destitute of all true greatness of character, from the extreme of haughtiness, sunk into the most abject pusillanimity. Impelled by fear, he abandoned Greece, and made a precipitate retreat
. through

through Thrace. His army being unable to procure subsistence, the greatest part of it perished miserably by famine, that effectual auxiliary to the swords of the Greeks. The Persian king reached the banks of the Hellespont, with the scanty remnant of his mighty force; but his bridge of boats had been swept away by a storm, and no means of transporting his famished followers were at hand. With Xerxes, the loss of honour seemed only to increase his fondness of life; heroes alone grow prodigal of it when fortune proves adverse: the appropriated satisfaction of a great mind in distress, is to die bravely; but such a principle rarely actuates an Asiatic monarch. Abandoning his army, he reached the opposite shore in a fishing boat. The war was afterward maintained by Mardonius, and other Persian generals; the events of it have immortalized the names of Pausanias, Aristides, and Cymon, under whom the Greeks triumphed at sea and on land. Xerxes, no longer captivated by military parade, abandoned himself to voluptuous excesses; and his natural cruelty being sharpened by disappointment and disgrace, he directed that all the temples of the Greeks in Asia should be demolished, because the Ionians had burnt Sardis, the capital of Lydia, and with it the temple of the goddess Cybele. This order was so zealously obeyed, that no other temple escaped than that of Diana at Ephesus. During this inglorious reign, many provinces revolted; and the tyrant was at length assassinated.

• Artaxerxes,

Artaxerxes, his third son, succeeded him: this prince is styled in Scripture Ahasuerus. The enmity which the Greeks bore the Persians, caused the war to be maintained through a great part of this reign, which continued forty years; but toward the close of it a peace was concluded. On the death of Artaxerxes, the government was weakened by the contests which arose among his children; of whom one was by his queen, and seventeen by concubines. Each attempting to ascend the throne, the brothers were intent on the destruction of each other: at length the fortunes of Ochus prevailed, and he was acknowledged king, by the name of Darius; to which was commonly added the epithet of Nothus, or the bastard. This prince reigned nineteen years; and at his death transmitted the diadem to his son Arsaces, by his wife Parasfytis, who took the name of Artaxerxes; and was called by the Greeks Mnemon, or "the Rememberer," from his retentive memory.

Though no open war was maintained at this time between the Persians and the Greeks, yet mutual jealousies of each other caused them alike to foment every civil commotion which broke out in the rival state. A rupture arising between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, an army of Persians, under Cyrus, younger brother to Arsaces, was sent to strengthen the latter against the former, a short time before the death of Darius their father. Xenophon describes this prince to have been, of all the Persians since the
ancient

ancient Cyrus, possessed of the most noble endowments, and the talents best fitted for command. No sooner did his father's death raise his brother to the throne, than he secretly meditated his own elevation to that dignity; in which design he was assisted by their common mother Parafytis: he founded his pretensions on his being born after his father's elevation. Concealing his real design, by the pretence of marching against a rebellious governor, he prevailed on ten thousand Greeks, under the command of Clearchus, to accompany him from Ionia, in a march of two thousand miles; until at length, by his liberal promises, joined to a noble and persuasive deportment, he prevailed on them to lend their assistance to dethrone his brother. A decisive battle was fought near Babylon; the army of Artaxerxes amounting to 900,000 men, beside 300,000 which were on their march to join it. This vast and almost incredible amount of the Persian army, does not depend on the assertion of Herodotus, but rests on the authority of the accurate Xenophon, and Plutarch asserts the same, in his life of Artaxerxes. The Greeks were opposed to the left wing of the royal Persian army, which was composed of one third of their whole force: but notwithstanding the immense disproportion of numbers, such was the terror which disciplined bravery immediately struck into these timid Asiatics, that they precipitately fled on the first onset. Cyrus was no less successful against his brother in the centre; but though victory had declared in his favour, yet chancing to espy the vanquished king amidst the discomfited

comfited host, he sprung toward him with an impetuosity that rendered him insensible of the danger to which he exposed his person. The brothers engaged each other for a short time; but an attendant on the king aimed a javelin at Cyrus, which slew him on the spot; and thus brought back to Artaxerxes his departed empire.

It is highly probable, that if the fortunes of Cyrus had prevailed, and he had lived to govern Persia for some years, the events of that empire might have taken a very different direction. Scrupulously exact in performing what he promised, a quick discerner of the true characters of men, active and intrepid; equally qualified to attach the meritorious to his interests by his munificence in rewarding merit, and to deter the base from acts of outrage by his vigilant government and stern justice, he seemed formed to strengthen, adorn, and preserve the empire, when it had lost the true principles of self-preservation, and was alike destitute of the civil and martial virtues which render a people happy and respectable. Soon after the battle, Clearchus and all the Grecian leaders, confiding in the solemn oaths of the Persians, were deluded into a conference; and being drawn from their army, were seized upon and put to death by order of Artaxerxes. The army then chose other leaders, one of whom was Xenophon, a volunteer in the expedition, and whose pen has recorded, with eminent simplicity and beauty, this memorable event in ancient history, which he was the chief cause of effecting.

effecting. Clearchus, with this small army of Greeks, had offered to place Arizæus, a general under Cyrus, on the throne of Persia; but this service being declined, the new leaders, by their courage, conduct, and good fortune, brought back the Greeks, without any considerable loss, to the Thracian shore of the Propontis. The astonishing superiority which they every where maintained over their foes, whom they haughtily styled Barbarians, no doubt pointed out to Alexander, seventy years afterward, the facility with which he might become master of the vast empire of Persia. From the crafty politics of Philip, Alexander inherited the power, from the lessons of Aristotle he acquired the cultivation of mind, but from the pen of Xenophon the information, which enabled him to become the conqueror of Asia.

• Artaxerxes reigned over Persia forty-six years (Plutarch says sixty-three), which his restless and enterprising spirit filled with an almost uninterrupted series of wars. He had three sons by his queen, namely, Darius, Ariaspes, and Ochus; and is said to have had one hundred and fifty sons by his concubines. His first-born and favourite son Darius conspired against him, and engaged fifty of his brothers in the plot; which being discovered, all those who were concerned were put to death. Ochus afterward caused his elder brother Ariaspes to be murdered; soon after which his father died, at the age of ninety-four, of a disorder contracted by grief. (*Plutarch, Justin.*)

• Ochus then became possessed of the throne, and was distinguished as the most cruel and

wicked of all the princes of his race." He put every descendant of the royal family to death, without regard to sex, age, or proximity of blood: his cruelties to the nobility were equally wanton and alarming. He reigned twenty-one years, having over-ran Egypt in a merciless manner; and was at length poisoned by his favourite Bagoas, who raising one and another to the empty title of king, reserved to himself all the powers of government; but at length he too was poisoned, by the creature he had raised to the throne, and who took the name of Darius III.: but this prince possessed the actual sovereignty only two years; for Alexander invading Persia, revenged the Greeks for the repeated inroads which had been made into their territories from that quarter, and brought the Persians under the Macedonian yoke. This memorable revolution was effected with thirty-five thousand veteran troops, of which five thousand were horse, whom the discipline and wars of Philip had brought to surpass every thing which the world at that time knew of military efficiency: "A host," says Quintus Curtius, "firm to stand, and prompt to be led on; attentive not only to the commands of their leader, but to his very wink." Alexander had learnt from the experience of Xenophon, how essential a body of horse was in a Persian war: with this army he totally defeated Darius, at the head of 400,000 men; among whom were 30,000 Greek mercenaries, commanded by Thymodes, and who might be said to be the only soldiers that were opposed

to

to him; all the rest of that vast multitude, whilst they shone in the rich trappings of Persian luxury, possessed such coward hearts, that they were ready to flee at the first approach of an enemy. Xenophon informs us, that in his time, the barbarians under Cyrus were seized with a panic, and fled at sight of the Greek auxiliars, when they were drawn up in battalia, and passed in review: like Gorgons, they appalled these abject spirits by their looks. Such were the enemies with whom Alexander had to contend; which renders it far from being intrinsically the greatest exploit which history has transmitted to us, though in its consequences it is unquestionably the most brilliant.

This revolution took place three hundred and thirty-three years before the birth of Christ; and was effected by a general no more than twenty-two years of age. Alexander, after this, pushed his conquests into Egypt; and, his restless ambition increasing as his dominions expanded, he led his victorious army over the mountains which separate Persia from India.

The knowledge which he had acquired of the fertility, riches, and defenceless condition of that vast country, immediately after the easy conquest which he had made of Persia, opened to his view something like a new world, and an object boundless as his ambition. After having penetrated into the country now called Lahore, and crossed those six streams, which, rising in remote parts, and

vastly distant from each other, proceed in a southerly, but approximating direction, until, by uniting, they form the majestic Indus, or Sinde, in the district now called Moultan, his design was to have subdued all the country lying between the Indus and the Ganges, northward of the peninsula; but his soldiers, injured as they were to hardships and difficulties, and greatly as they venerated their leader, refused to assist him in so vast an undertaking: he was therefore, obliged to confine his operations to the borders of the Indus.

It has been generally supposed that Alexander built only two cities in the north-western parts of India, namely, Nicæa and Bucephalia; each situated on the Hydaspes; the modern Behut, Ihylum, or Chelum. But Arrian asserts, lib. v. that he built a third city, on the river Acesines, now the Chunaub, under the direction of Hephestion.

The conceptions and plans of this wonderful man were as judicious and profound as they were comprehensive and grand. It was not the vain glorious ostentation of a youthful monarch, intoxicated by success, which led him to build these cities, but for the purpose of possessing places of strength, which should open him a way to farther conquests, to be achieved on a future expedition; and this hope reconciled him to the necessity which was then laid upon him, of confining his operations to the borders of the Indus; which river he descended, unannoyed by any enemy capable of opposing him, and in so deliberate a manner as to obtain the fullest information

tion of every thing respecting the country and the people which might be conducive to his future designs.

The fleet which sailed down the Indus when it reached the ocean, was put under the sole command of Nearchus, one of his most consummate and confided generals, who by his conduct in this new and arduous enterprize, proved himself worthy of such a charge. The fleet consisted of near a thousand vessels, collected in the country, and had near 40,000 foldiers on board. Alexander quitted this fleet when it arrived at the mouth of the Indus, and led the greatest part of his army, consisting of about 80,000 men, and 200 elephants, back to Persia by land. Nearchus coasted along the northern shores of the Arabian sea, until he arrived at the entrance of the Persian gulf, and proceeding along its whole extent entered the Euphrates, and successfully completed his new and perilous voyage in the course of seven months.

It is probable that Alexander was impelled to undertake his expedition into India, so immediately after his conquest of Persia, by the insatiable desire of acquiring great wealth, and a vast extent of territory; that pestiferous taint which vitiates ambition: but the contemplation of the Indus, and the minute investigation which followed, filled his mind with a design much more rational, laudable, and patriotic, being no other than the plan of enriching his new acquired empire of Persia, by opening for it a trade

with India, for which the local situation of the two countries was admirably calculated; but of which the Persians, from the strong dislike which they bore to commercial concerns, had neglected to avail themselves.

Alexander lived ten years after he became possessed of the Persian empire: but the luxurious magnificence of the east gradually enslaved the conqueror: and Philip, his reputed father, having renounced him as a son whilst he was yet a child, in consequence of his mother, Olympias, having declared that she had conceived him by the embraces of a serpent, he became desirous to convert the ambiguity of his birth into the means of his exaltation; and through the obsequious compliance of a priest he was declared to be the son of Jupiter Ammon. But no sooner was he exalted to the skies, than he sunk below the proper character of a man; and the excesses, cruelties, and acts of phrenzy which stained the latter years of his life, shew that he no longer possessed that truly great and noble mind which adorned his youth. Though he died at an age when few great characters have attained celebrity, yet he too long survived himself.

After the death of Alexander, his vast dominions were dismembered; each of his generals taking possession of such a portion as he could best appropriate to himself. In this division, the kingdom of Media was obtained by Seleucus Nicator, who transmitted it to his son, and to his grandson Antiochus Theos, who

who was conquered by a band of Scythian emigrants, which having settled in the barren and mountainous country of Parthia, grew to be numerous and powerful, and under the conduct of Arsaces became the conquerors of the east. This prince transmitted to his descendants the sovereignty which he had acquired, and which was preserved with great lustre during a period of four hundred and seventy-five years. The Parthians, under various leaders, contended with the Roman power when arrived at its greatest height, and commanded by their most renowned generals. Such was the veneration in which the memory of this founder of the kingdom was held, that from him the Parthian kings of the same race took the name of Arsaces; as the kings of Egypt did that of Ptolemy, and the Roman emperors that of Cæsar.

Justin describes this people as having in a manner divided the world with the Romans, lib. xli. The wars between the Parthians and Romans first broke out after the conclusion of the Roman social war, when the struggles for power between the people and the senate made Italy a scene of slaughter. The senate at length so far prevailed as to appoint Sylla to the command of an army destined to act in Asia. This was undertaken upon such slight pretexts, as the Romans had generally used, when they aimed at aggrandizing themselves by the subjugation of foreign nations. The true reasons for engaging in this distant war, appear to have been a desire to divert the atten-

tion of the people from internal politics to foreign conquests; to dazzle the Romans with the splendour of victories; and to enrich the army and its leader with the spoils of captured kingdoms.

Sylla, for three years waged a successful war against Mithridates, the second of that name, and fifth in succession to the throne of Parthia. The spoils which were brought to Rome by this expedition rendering the people impatient to renew the war, Pompey was soon after appointed to conduct it; and though the jealousies of the senate for a time suspended him from his command, yet it being found that he alone was able to make head against the Parthian king, he was permitted to prosecute the war, which ended in the overthrow of Mithridates.

When the first triumvirate was firmly settled, Licinius Crassus chose the province of Syria for his government, with a view to gratify his insatiable thirst for wealth; and for some time carried on a predatory war in Mesopotamia, and even to the eastward of the Euphrates, with great success; but he was at length drawn into a snare by Orodes, king of Parthia, and perished, together with the greatest part of his army, fifty-five years before the Christian æra. The standards taken from the Roman legions were hung up as trophies at Seleucia; but the head of Crassus being brought to Orodes, he is said to have ordered melted gold to be poured into the mouth, to express his detestation of the insatiable avarice which prompted that Roman to attack him.

To revenge this disgrace cast upon the Roman name, Julius Cæsar was meditating a formidable invasion of Parthia, when he met his death in the senate-house: he had indeed, after the defeat and death of Pompey, and the conquest of Egypt, passed over into Thrace, where he subdued Pharnaces, then king of Parthia, on the banks of the Bosphorus: by this expedition he became master of the kingdom of Armenia, which he bestowed on Ariobarzanes. The rapidity of Cæsar's conquests on this occasion was such, as led him to describe them in three words, *veni, vidi, vici*; which Shakespear makes one of his characters call "Cæsar's Thraconical brag."

When the second triumvirate had divided the Roman empire amongst themselves, Mark Antony led an army into Persia; but the fascinating charms of Cleopatra had then subdued that veteran, and the events of the war were to him highly inglorious: his baggage was taken by the enemy, and 32,000 of his men perished. The great reputation which Augustus acquired by subduing his colleagues, and gaining the entire possession of the Roman empire, caused the Parthians, who were then weakened by intestine dissensions, to deprecate his resentment; and in order to procure a peace, they restored the colours which had been taken from the army under Crassus. The Parthians were stigmatised by the Romans for their treachery and perfidiousness, to whom they were terrible on account of their manner of fighting, and their expertness in the management

ment of their horses. Horace makes frequent mention of this people; and, from the manner in which he speaks of them, it appears that they were considered as the most formidable power with which the Romans then had to contend. They are mentioned by that incomparable bard, under the different names of Persians, Medes, and Parthians. When he uses the two former names, it is to describe either the luxurious pomp of their kings, the treachery of the nation, the remoteness of its situation, or the civil commotions which then prevailed there. (*See Lib. i. Ode 21. — Lib. iii. Ode 8. — Lib. iv. Ode 15. & Carm. sec.*)—But when he mentions the Parthians, it is always descriptive of a people fierce and formidable in war. (*See Lib. i. Ode 1, 12, & 19. — Lib. ii. Ode 13. — Lib. iii. Ode 2. — Sat. Lib. ii. Sat. i. Epist. Lib. i. Epist. 18.*)

The contentions for the throne of Parthia, which prevailed for many years, gave the Romans an opportunity, during the reign of Tiberius and afterward, to weaken that kingdom by fomenting its internal dissensions. The short limits of this historical sketch will not permit us to trace the regular succession of Parthian kings. It must suffice to mention that the emperor Trajan led an army in person against that kingdom: having subdued Armenia and Mesopotamia, he reduced them to Roman provinces; for which exploit he obtained the surnames of Armenicus and Parthicus. He then crossed the Euphrates, and subdued the richest parts of Parthia, by which he brought

brought the whole country to be tributary to the Romans. Adrian, his successor, made the Euphrates the boundary of his empire to the eastward, A. D. 131. The emperor Verus plundered and burnt the famous cities of Babylon and Ctesiphon, with the stately palaces of the Parthian monarchs; after which an almost uninterrupted series of war continued during a century; until the power of Parthia was at length so greatly reduced, that the Persians, under an intrepid leader, named Artaxerxes, made a successful effort to regain their liberty; and dispossessed the Parthians of that power which they had for centuries held. Artaxerxes then assumed the double diadem of Persia and Parthia, and the pompous title of "King of Kings," A. D. 260.

This revolution in the governing power of the country, caused no suspension in the wars which were waged with the Romans, and in which the kingdom of Mesopotamia appears to have been the principal scene of action. The emperor Valerian, leading an army against Sapor king of Persia, was defeated and taken prisoner; when he suffered from the conqueror the most insulting indignities, who is said to have set his foot on his neck when he mounted his horse, and at length to have caused him to be flayed alive. Odenatus king of Palmyra, for some time revenged the cause of the Romans upon the Persians. When the eastern empire was settled by Constantine, Hormisdas reigned over Persia, and the kingdom enjoyed a profound peace: this repose continued

continued during nine years. He died without issue; but his queen being then pregnant, the Magi declared that the offspring which she then bore was a son; whereupon the nobles swore allegiance to their prince *in utero*, and placed the royal diadem on the part which inclosed him. After the Magi had thus pronounced, it was impossible that the child born could be any other than a male; but whether it was a real or a supposititious prince, his actions, when he had passed his minority, discovered great spirit and abilities. He received the name of Sapor or Schabour: he fought successively with the three eastern emperors, Constantine, Constans, and Julian, the latter of whom fell in battle; and Jovian, who succeeded, purchased a peace at the price of five provinces. Sapor, who may be said to have reigned longer than he lived, died in the seventy-second year of his age. No reign recorded in Asiatic history has been lengthened out to such a period; although the modern history of France can produce two successive reigns, each of equal duration with this.

Toward the close of the fourth century, the Christian religion first began to be tolerated in Persia, by Isdigertes, who reigned over that kingdom with such justice, equity, and ability, that the emperor Arcadius, when dying, committed to him the care of his infant son, then only eight years old, who was to be his successor; he left him also the regency of the eastern empire during the minority: which important trusts

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he executed with such fidelity and disinterestedness, as served to cement an amity between the two empires; and suspended for a while those fierce contentions which till then had prevailed. Varanes V. succeeded his father. He was in his infancy sent into Arabia, where he received his education, and had attained to manhood, when the death of his father gave him a right to the crown; but his absence enabled Kerfa, a Persian nobleman, to possess himself of it. Varanes led an army of Arabians to attack the usurper, the forces of the competitors were drawn up in order of battle; when Varanes, to prevent the slaughter consequent on a general engagement, proposed to the army which opposed him, that the crown of Persia should be placed on a cushion in the centre of an enclosed circle, into which two hungry lions should be turned; and that candidate for the crown who would attempt to gain it by encountering those fierce animals, should be acknowledged king. The daring spirit, so blended with humanity, which dictated this proposal, caused it to be adopted by the Persians who supported the cause of Kerfa; but their leader shrinking from so dreadful a conflict, Varanes, like another Jason, undertook the exploit, slew the lions, and, placing the diadem on his own head, was universally acknowledged king of Persia. The intemperate zeal of Abdas, bishop of Persia, drew down upon the Christians a severe persecution. This happening in the reign of Theodosius, emperor of the east, brought on a war between
the

the two countries ; and the Saracens being instigated by the Persian prince to invade Syria, were, in the end, driven back, with the loss of 100,000 men. The Romans were likewise successful against the Persians ; but by the judicious measures which were taken by Varanes, his enemies were at length exhausted by their very victories, whilst the Persians gathered strength under their defeat. This war was entered into, on the part of Theodosius, to obtain for the Christians a toleration in Persia ; and ceased as soon as that object was accomplished. What facilitated this event, was the humanity shewn to a large number of Persian prisoners, who were confined at Amida ; and being ready to perish by hunger and nakedness, the Christians of that place, moved by the exhortations of Acaeses their bishop, caused all the gold and silver vessels which were made use of in their churches to be sold, and the produce to be applied to the relief of those captives. Varanes reigned twenty years, and was succeeded by his son, Varanes VI. He is described by Herbelot as a great law-giver, and a wise prince.

The succeeding periods of the Persian history are very differently related by the Greek and Oriental historians. Toward the close of the fifth and at the beginning of the sixth century, an almost continual state of warfare was maintained between the kingdom of Persia and the eastern empire, in which the Grecian general Belisarius, under the emperor Justinian, distinguished himself by his victories : after which

which Cosroes, the second of that name, reigned in Persia: he was likewise called *Nouschirvan*, or "the Magnificent." He suppressed some flagitious and dangerous tenets which were spreading fast in Persia; made war upon Justinian; took and raised to the ground the venerable city of Antioch. Belisarius was then again put at the head of the Greek forces, being found the only general capable of making head against the Persians, A. D. 540. This may be considered as the second religious war; the Greek emperor protecting the Christians against the persecutions of the Persian king, as Theodosius had done, more than a century before. On the death of Justinian, and the succession of Justin, Cosroes gained a yet greater ascendancy over the empire: but Sophia, the wife of Justin, wrote a pathetic letter to the king, representing the emperor as deprived of his senses, and making her appeal to his clemency and humanity; which caused him to desist from farther hostilities. This peace was of short duration; and in the war which afterward broke out, Justinian, the Greek general, gained a memorable victory over Cosroes in person (then eighty years of age), who died soon after, having reigned forty-eight years. After his death, contentions for the crown caused foreign wars to cease. Under the reign of Hormisdas, his son, a mean and worthless prince, Varamus, the Persian general, greatly distinguished himself; who being disgusted at the king, stirred up the army to revolt, and to place the crown on the head of the

king's son. This revolution exhibits one of the first instances of that cruel and extirpating spirit, which in the modern history of Persia has been so continually exhibited. Hormisdas, after his eyes had been put out, was strangled; his wife and younger son put to death; whilst Cosroes, the eldest son, was advanced to the throne, in which he was maintained by the assistance of the Greek emperor Mauritius, against the attempts of Varamus: but the emperor being murdered by Phocas, who assumed the government, Cosroes was furnished with a pretext to invade the Greek provinces, where he exercised the most desolating cruelty, being instigated by the Jews against the Christians: Syria, both upper and lower Egypt, together with the southern shore of the Euxine sea, were successively subdued by him, and vast numbers of Christians who inhabited those countries were sold into slavery. After an ineffectual application for peace, despair at length effected among the Greeks, what the dismembering of their empire could not bring about. Heraclius, who had murdered and succeeded Phocas, raised a powerful army, at the head of which he repeatedly defeated Cosroes, and recovered the provinces which that prince had overrun. But the Persian king had still a more dangerous enemy in his own family, for Siroes, his son, soon after deposed and murdered him; and to secure to himself the throne, put to death seventeen of his brothers: but the power which he had thus acquired by the slaughter of his parent and kindred,

kindred, he retained only a short time, being himself murdered in the first year of his reign: after which the history of this kingdom becomes confused and uncertain, nor do the occurrences of this period appear sufficiently interesting to cause it to be greatly regretted that they are not more clearly developed.

At this time a new and formidable power arose: Mahomed having, with the most consummate art and address, introduced a system of religion which increased the natural ferocity of rude uncivilized men, by the maddening stimulants of superstition and enthusiasm, caused a new æra in the history of the world. After his death, the tenets which he had inculcated were received with great avidity, and his immediate successors overspread a vast extent of country, every where planting their faith with their swords. The ancient and venerable kingdom of Persia was unable to withstand the swarm of invaders which poured in upon it. "The Arabs," says Sir William Jones, "under the command of Omar, were perpetually making inroads upon the Persian empire, and finally overthrew it." *Hist. of Persia*, p. lxvi. Isdigertes, or, according to Sir William Jones, Yezdegird, who then reigned, was successively driven from all his fastnesses by these fierce conquerors (who had obtained the name of Saracens), and was at length defeated and slain. These barbarians secured to themselves the permanent possession of their conquest, by procuring the van-

quished Persians to embrace the Mahometan faith,
A. D. 652.

The Arabians under the Saracen empire, the Tûrks, Tartars, and Armenians, by turns possessed or divided Persia during 769 Years; but this period is involved in great obscurity. "Omar," says Sir William Jones, "was succeeded by a race of Califfs, the popes of Asia, who assumed at once a regal and a priestly character, the one as conquerors of Persia, and the other as successors of Mahomed. The family of Ommia preserved their power and dignity; but, under the house of Abbas, the califate was reduced to a shadow of sovereignty, and their empire was divided among a number of independent princes." The division of the empire prepared it for dissolution; the sons of Genghiz, who led a numerous army of Tartars over the Oxus, found the conquest of Persia an easy task. It is related, that Holagu, a Mogul prince, who put an end to the califate in the thirteenth century, was incited to besiege Bagdad by the great astronomer Nassireddin, who had taken offence at the Calif's behaviour to him; if that is the fact, the subversion of an empire was brought about by the resentment of a private philosopher; but Herbelot rejects this story. Toward the close of the fourteenth century, the famous Timur Beg, improperly called Tamerlane, chief of the Ousbeg Tartars, subdued Persia. He died in the year 1405, and his posterity ruled over the empire until the 800th Hegira, or A. D. 1499; when Ismaei

Ismael Sofi, or "the religious," deposed the reigning prince, established himself in the sovereignty, and founded a new dynasty of princes, called the Sophis. This Ismael is said to have been the nineteenth lineal descendant in the male line from Ali, the son-in-law of Mahomet, and author of the schism by which Mahometanism became divided into two branches, each rigidly attached to their own peculiar tenets, and entertaining an inveterate hatred to the other. (See under the head of *Religion*.) This race of princes filled the throne of Persia in uninterrupted succession for 223 years; during which period fierce wars were maintained between the Persian and Ottoman empires. Among the princes of this race, none were so conspicuous for their talents and patriotism, as Shah Abas I.: he began his reign in the year 1584, when no more than eighteen years of age, and reigned forty-five years. He extended his empire by the conquest of Candahar, and the southern coast of the Black Sea: Georgia and Armenia he wrested from the Turks, whom he likewise drove out of Mesopotamia, and subdued all the country to the right of the Euphrates: he then attempted the conquest of the island of Ormus, situated at the entrance of the Persian gulf; and being assisted by some English ships, took it, after a siege of two months. Immense wealth was found here, which was shared by the conquerors, and the place underwent a total demolition; Abas choosing to fix the mart of trade between Persia and India at Ben-

der Abassi, on account of its harbour, and other local advantages, although the unhealthiness of the spot on which the town was built rendered it rather a tomb than a dwelling-place. From Abas this place received the name of Gombroon; and here the English, who engaged to maintain constantly two men of war, not only obtained a perpetual exemption from all duties, but were admitted to an equal share of the commercial revenue with the Shah. The internal government of the empire next engaged the attention of this assiduous monarch; the splendor of whose talents was such as enabled him to weaken and reduce the formidable power of the Persian nobility, and the no less obnoxious ascendancy of the army; by which he advanced the regal dignity to an uncontrolled height of despotism: nor was the innovation, which he introduced into a favourite religious custom, perhaps less bold and daring than the attacks on his nobles and military officers: it being the general practice throughout Persia, for every man, at least once in his life, to go in pilgrimage to Mecca, which occasioned much wealth to be carried out of the kingdom; Abas caused the city of Meshed, in the province of Khorasan, to be considered by all Persians as the place of resort for performing that act of devotion. This renowned prince died in 1625, having for many years enjoyed the addition of "the great" to his name. The accumulating wealth which centred in Persia, introduced effeminacy of manners; and

and meanness, fervility, perfidiousness, and treachery, marked the national character, to the utter exclusion of every virtuous and manly spring of action.

The Afghans, a people inhabiting, for time immemorial, the mountains which separate Persia from India, had spread themselves over the adjoining province of Candahar, in the beginning of the eighteenth century; other provinces and tributary states, from the success of this revolt, and the weakness to which the empire was sunk, throw off the Persian yoke. Hussein, the Shah, or king, at that time, led a numerous army toward Candahar, but he was totally defeated, and 15,000 Persians slain, at Gulnabad, by Mir-Mahmud, at the head of a small army of Afghans; the treasure, artillery, and baggage of the vanquished, fell into the hands of the conqueror. This event, which at once decided the fate of the empire, happened on the 8th of March 1722. The Persian monarch, by nature timid, supine, and abject, diffused a portion of his imbecility through every rank of the state, whilst the Afghan prince led his victorious troops to the gates of Ispahan without opposition. With his small army, consisting, as it should seem, of not more than 30,000 men, he effectually blockaded a city of twenty-four English miles in circumference, containing 600,000 inhabitants, beside an accession of near 100,000 more, who had fled, with their effects, from the open country, hoping to find protection and security in the capital of the empire.

The country having been laid waste for several miles by the besiegers, the wretched inhabitants of this metropolis suffered the most dreadful calamities which famine could inflict; but not even desperation could excite them to attempt to dislodge the considerable numbers of the enemy which occupied the posts that intercepted all supplies: so abject a surrender to wretchedness can scarcely be paralleled; but this inaction was not produced merely by the terror which the arms of the Afghans had inspired; for, by the secret correspondence which Mahmud maintained with some of the leading men in the court of Hussein, he was enabled to counteract all the designs which were formed, ere they were carried into effect.

When the blockade had continued six months, the king of Persia signified to the invader his desire of capitulating; but the crafty Afghan, under a variety of specious pretexts, protracted the negotiation near a month; whilst each day augmented the misery of the perishing inhabitants: not the sufferings of the Jews in the famous siege of Jerusalem, nor any other miseries which famine, disease, and despair, are related in history to have produced, exceeded what were felt on this occasion: at length the king, unable to obtain any alleviating conditions for himself or his empire, quitted the city, to throw himself, unconditionally, on the mercy of his conqueror, and saved his life by resigning his crown and kingdom to Mahmud. What was the number of forces with which

which this great revolution was accomplished is not precisely stated; but the operations and issue of this blockade are among the most marvellous events which authentic history hands down, and plainly prove that the Persians were sunk so low in effeminacy, and had so lost every principle of self-defence, that they partook more of the nature of sheep than of men.

Mahmud was crowned king of Persia on the 27th of October 1722, being then no more than twenty-five years of age; still, however, the life of Hussein was spared, and the new king, soon after his elevation, married one of his daughters. At this time the distracted state of Persia led Peter the Great, who then reigned over the Russians, to seize upon the provinces which lay on the western and southern shores of the Caspian Sea, whilst the Turks at the same time formed designs against the provinces on the right of the Euphrates. At the time when these foreign enemies were dismembering the kingdom, the wretched Persians were given up, without mercy, to the unrestrained brutality of the soldiery, by whom they were plundered, abused, and slaughtered in the most outrageous manner. The cruelty of their barbarous conquerors knew no bounds; the noble city of Ispahan was almost depopulated in a short time. The views of Mahmud seemed directed to exterminate the Persians, not to govern them.

Tahmas, son of Hussein, whom Sir William Jones calls Talmasp, had escaped from Ispahan during the blockade,

blockade, and had retired to the province of Mazanderan, the ancient Margiana; but being a weak, irresolute, and inactive prince, he was utterly incapable of asserting his rights, although the usurper quickly lost the confidence of his army, by the voluptuous excesses to which he devoted himself; and, becoming more suspicious and cruel, in proportion as he lost the qualities of a hardy soldier, in one day he destroyed with his own hand all the blood-royal who were in his power, Hussein only excepted, and two infants, whose lives that prince interposed to save at the hazard of his own. The fury of those passions which had taken possession of the soul of Mahmud, presently hurried him into madness; and when he had sat upon the throne of Persia little more than two years, the army which had placed him there deposed him, and gave the regal dignity to Ashreff, one of his generals. This prince immediately caused the head of Mahmud to be struck off; and (in imitation of that usurper) put to death all those who had been concerned in raising him to the throne by betraying the interests of the reigning prince, and confiscated their estates. He possessed the talents of a general, and united with them no inconsiderable degree of political sagacity; but was beyond measure arrogant and assuming. The death of the Czar Peter left him nothing to fear from the Russians; and the exact agreement between the Turkish and Afghan faith, with whom the schism of Ali, to which the Persians adhered, was equally held in abhorrence,

rence, caused the Ottomans in general to be very averse to wage war against Ashreff: these considerations, joined to the weak state of that empire; which suffered greatly by a decisive victory, gained by the new king of Persia over a large army of Turks, brought on a treaty of peace, in the year 1727.

• Whilst Ashreff was thus relieved from all apprehensions on the score of foreign enemies, and was strengthening himself in his government by the lenity and moderation which he shewed to his new subjects, his danger arose from a quarter where it was least apprehended. An obscure man, who by birth and fortune seemed to be placed far below the influence of ambition, by the uncommon energy of his mind, his restless, aspiring spirit, and a body endowed with a superiority of strength and powers, which marked him as the leader of fierce and enterprising barbarians, began at this time to distinguish himself in the kingdom of Khorasan. He was named Nader Kouli, or “the servant of the wonderful.” At the early age of fifteen, he had shewn such a daring and intrepid disposition, as surpassed every thing which his hardy associates could attempt. A predatory life inured him to arms, and habituated him to hardiness and enterprise: to his followers he was soothing and insinuating; to his enemies revengeful and cruel; to those who stood in the way of his ambition, artful and insidious. He had now attained to the thirty-sixth year of his age, and was possessed of something like the sovereignty of his native

native province of Khorasan: impatient to extend his views, he determined to take a part in the affairs of Persia; the distractions of that kingdom affording the most inviting opportunity to an enterprising and ambitious leader. In the life-time of Mahmud he had declared himself in favour of the exiled prince Tæhmas: his successes against different bodies of Afghans raised his reputation; and his professions of loyalty and attachment to the prince, whose cause seemed hopeless, procured him the warm confidence of the short-sighted Tæhmas, who raised him to the dignity of a Khan, and gave him the chief command of the Persian army. The natural powers of Nader's mind, unaided by education, enabled him to penetrate into the real characters and views of men, and gave him that ascendancy which great minds acquire over the weak. By his attention to the army, he converted a military body which was truly contemptible, into a well-disciplined, intrepid, and formidable power. Ashreff led his Afghans against this new enemy, and a decisive action was fought near the city of Damgoon, in a plain called Mehmandost, in which the Afghans were totally defeated: this event happened on the 2d of October 1729. Soon after which success, Nader forced their camp, and obliged Ashreff to seek his safety by flight. These victories so greatly advanced the popularity of Nader, that Tæhmas began to discover great jealousy at the growing power of his general, whom he had now invested with

with the most distinguished mark of his favour, by conferring on him the honour of bearing his own name; so that he was now called Tæhmas Kouli Khan.

Ashreff having repaired to Ispahan after his defeats, caused the unfortunate prince Husein to be put to death; and plundering the city of its most valuable effects, retreated to Shiras. We are told by the Persian writer of the Life of Nader Shah, that he massacred most of the inhabitants in cold blood, and among them a number of learned men, who had retired from the world, and hoped to close their days in a studious tranquillity. Thus ended the government of the Afghans, after it had continued seven years and twenty-one days. Tæhmas soon after entered the capital of Persia, which exhibited the most dismal scene of ruin and desolation. Nader next obtained, or rather extorted, from the king, a delegation of his prerogative to levy money on the people, for the purpose of paying the army; which power was only wanting to render him king in effect, whilst the passive prince enjoyed the empty title. Nader, after some time, drove the Afghans out of Shiras; and their whole force being dispersed and broken, they became the prey even of the enraged peasantry, who put all to death that came in their way; and by such hands the ill-fated Ashreff perished.

The Turks, who had supported the cause of the Afghans, next felt the resentment of Nader, and were

defeated by him in a pitched battle. In the year 1732 the Persian general, being at the head of an army devoted to his interests, and amounting to 70,000 men, thought it time to throw off the mask; he therefore seized upon the person of Tæhmas, whom he deposed, and advanced Abbas, the son of that prince, an infant only six months old, to the kingly dignity, whilst the officers and principal men in Persia appointed him regent of the state during the minority. Tæhmas was conveyed to Khorasan, where, says the Persian historian, "a magnificent prison was prepared for him and his seraglio, in which he passed the remainder of his life; and no doubt found his retirement, however disgraceful, more suitable, to the indolence of his temper, and the weakness of his understanding, than the perpetual anxieties of a throne." Here, according to Hanway, he lived only eight years, and was then murdered by order of Riza Kouli, the eldest son of Nader (who had married one of his daughters) when he was regent of Persia.

Tæhmas had made a dishonourable peace with the Turks, which furnished the plea for deposing him; and Nader, immediately disclaiming it, marched an army against Bagdad; but he was defeated by Osmin, the Turkish general, with great loss: however, he soon wiped off that stain by the event of a second action, in which the Turks were routed, and Osmin, their leader, slain; all the Turkish baggage and artillery, together with the military chest, were taken;

taken; and it is said, that 40,000 Turks lost their lives. This battle was fought on the 26th of October, 1733. A treaty of peace followed, by which the Turks restored every thing which they had gained from Persia during the intestine commotions of that kingdom; and the boundaries of the two empires were settled according to their ancient limits: but in this negociation Nader seems to have been duped by the artifice of Ahmed, governor of Bagdad; for sultan Mahmud not choosing to ratify the peace, hostilities were renewed, and a decisive battle was soon fought in the plain of Baghavend, near Frivan, in which the Turks greatly outnumbered the Persians. Hanway says, the latter army consisted of 55,000 men, and the former of 80,000; but the Persian historian talks in the most extravagant manner on this occasion, making the Turkish force to consist of 70,000 horse, and 50,000 foot, whilst he sinks the force of Nader to no more than 15,000 men: and in the event of that day the same author asserts, that the Turks left half their army dead or wounded, with Abdalla, their general, amongst the slain. Hanway relates it to have been a most decisive victory on the part of the Persians, without shaking our belief by describing such wonderful circumstances. The Porte was then glad to conclude a peace, on much worse terms than the basha of Bagdad had settled the year before.

Nader, whose ambition enlarged as his power increased, seems to have taken Alexander for his great exemplar; for in an embassy which was sent to the

court of Russia about this time, in the name of the infant king, Abbas II. Nader is described as "equal to Alexander in his valour and fortune."

In the year 1736 the infant king died, upon which event Nader convened all the governors, elders, and great officers, together with the generals of his army, in the plains of Mogan, near the banks of the Aras, where the whole of his army, amounting to near 100,000 men, was likewise collected. Here, after expatiating on the deliverance which he had accomplished for Persia, not only from foreign enemies, but the most destructive internal commotions, with consummate dissimulation he declared himself determined to retire to a private station, and exhorted them to choose a king who should be capable of defending the kingdom from outward violence, as well as of suppressing all tendency to secret dissensions. Such pretensions to a disinterested patriotism, though enforced upon the eyes and ears of the audience by the most prepossessing semblance of sincerity, could hardly gain credit with any one: had Nadir been sincere in his professions, he would not have collected on the spot so large an army, by means of which he held the lives and fortunes of all present at his absolute disposal. All ranks concurred in soliciting Nader to accept the diadem of Persia, which he continued to decline; but was at length prevailed upon to receive, whilst he stipulated that the crown should be rendered hereditary in his family; that all the surviving descendants of the Sassanid family should receive

no protection whatever; and that the Persians should forsake the sect of Ali, and embrace that of Omar: conditions which plainly shew, that whilst Nader was openly refusing the offer of the crown of Persia, he was secretly meditating to annex the Ottoman empire to that kingdom, to which nothing could so effectually pave the way, as his proposed change in the religion of his country. Coins of various sorts were struck on this occasion, on which all Nader's titles were expressed on the one side, and on the reverse an Arabic inscription, implying, that what had happened was the best: the letters of which sentence are numeral, and when added together make 1149, the year of the Mahomedan epoch in which Nader was raised to the throne of Persia. Some of these coins are preserved in the Bodleian library. Hanway relates other inscriptions which were on some of the coins; one was, "Nader, king of kings, and glory of the age." Another, "Coins proclaim through the earth the reign of Nader, the king who conquers the world." The priests alone opposed that innovation in religion which the ambition of Nader had caused to be introduced, and for this conduct they soon felt the weight of his resentment, by being deprived of their revenues, which were applied to the maintenance of the army.

No sooner was the new king securely seated on the throne, than he turned his thoughts to an invasion of India: he had nothing at that time to apprehend from the Turks, who were then at war with the

the Russians; and the exhausted state of Persia obliged him to have recourse to some foreign means of maintaining that vast army which he had formed; and whose attachment to him was the only secure tenure by which he held his sovereignty. Accordingly, in December 1736, he began his march toward India. The pretext for waging war against the Mogul was founded on the asylum which he had afforded in his territories to the fugitive Afghans. The king of Persia led an army, consisting of more than 100,000 men, over the mountains. In this expedition he was attended by his second son Nasrallah; his eldest, named Riza Kouli, was appointed regent of Persia during the absence of his father. The taking of Candahar and Cabul, places of considerable strength on the confines of the two empires, and defended by brave and hardy mountaineers, employed a year and a half; but these being reduced, his progress toward Delhi, the capital of Hindostan, received no considerable obstruction, although he was obliged, like Alexander, to pass his army over the five branches of the river Indus; but here no enemy appeared to oppose him. When he had advanced within seventy-five miles of the capital, an army composed of near 200,000 men, commanded by Mahommed Shah, the emperor of Hindostan, in person, was drawn up on the plains of Karnal, and offered battle to the Persians; Nader was no less impatient for action; and on the 14th of February 1739, a partial engagement took place, which, however,

ever, soon decided the fate of India; for the elephants, on whom the Indians chiefly relied, were rendered formidable only to their masters, by the superior address of Nader, who struck a terror into those unwieldy animals, by presenting to them portable fires wherever they advanced: these creatures having an instinctive dread of fire, immediately turned back, and rushing precipitately on the Indian army, threw it into confusion. This defeat left the unhappy Mahommed nothing to hope for but from the clemency of the conqueror; to obtain which, four days after the battle, he surrendered himself, his crown and kingdom, into the hands of Nader, who made his triumphal entry into Delhi on the 9th of March following.

The first act of power which the conqueror exercised, was, to monopolize all the corn to be found in that city, upon which he fixed a very advanced price. As the wealth of the richest city in the world was then at his mercy, the inconsiderable profit which such a mean traffic could produce, was not likely to occasion such an act of oppression; and it is much more probable that the true motive was to excite tumults among the poor, who were deprived of the means of subsistence by this factitious scarcity: but, whatever was the cause, such was the effect of the measure; the populace rose, and in the first intemperance of their fury killed many Persians, with some circumstances of extreme cruelty. These commotions furnished a

pretext to the conqueror for permitting a general massacre and plunder of the city. The carnage continued for seven hours, when the intercessions of the emperor and his nobles prevailed on Nader to call off his soldiers. According to Hanway, 110,000 inhabitants perished in this massacre; and the Persian historian relates that the enraged soldiery demolished every building by which they passed.

Whilst Nader continued at Delhi, he caused a silver coin to be struck, with which he paid his army; it bore the following inscription: "Nader, the most fortunate, and the king of kings, is the most powerful prince upon earth." On the reverse, "May God perpetuate his reign."

At the same time that the royal treasures and wealth were seized, each individual, who was supposed to possess any property, from the great lords down to the merchants, and even the common people, was obliged to deliver up a large portion of his fortune. In the midst of these exactions, Naf-ralla, the son of Nader, was married to a daughter of the Mogul emperor; on which occasion the face of joy which appeared, was rather adding insult to the distresses which the country felt, than any alleviation of such insupportable oppressions. In less than two months, the Persian officers had been so alert in extorting from the Indians their gold, silver, jewels, rich manufactures, and every other species of portable wealth, that the conqueror began to put his army in motion to return home, having previ-
ously

ously reinstated Mahommed on the throne of the Mogul empire; for which lenity he obtained a grant of all the territory to the westward of the Indus. The spoils which he brought away are supposed to amount to about ninety millions of pounds sterling. It is computed that the houses and goods destroyed by fire, and the fields that were laid waste, amounted to near twenty crores, or twenty-five millions. "We may reckon, upon the whole," says Hanway, "that this Persian ravager spoiled the Indians of above 120 millions of pounds; and not less than 200,000 of the natives perished, either in battle, by the massacre in the city, or in the villages: of which number 50,000 are supposed to have died by famine."

Whilst the army was repassing the mountains, on their way home, the tyrant had the hardiness to demand from every officer and soldier in his camp all the jewels which he had collected, as spoils, in the expedition. These he claimed as his peculiar right; and such was his unbounded authority, that this arbitrary requisition was acquiesced in, without raising any dissatisfaction among his troops.—The consequences which flowed from this expedition of Nader Shah into India, were not confined to the conquering and conquered kingdoms; but the revolution in the government of India, which arose out of this event, enabled the English company of merchants trading to Bengal, to take possession of the territorial government of that province, and to transfer the wealth which used to centre in Delhi

to the British isles, together with the spoils of the province!

Nader, in returning with his immense treasures into Persia, narrowly escaped death by the hands of an assassin, whom his son, Riza Kouli, had hired to perpetrate the deed; but the plot being detected, Riza, by order of his father, was deprived of sight, and afterward put to death. The discovery of his son's baseness seems to have made a deep and lasting impression on the father, whose soul was transcribed in that of the parricidial prince. The conqueror of India from henceforth gave the most unbounded scope to his natural disposition for cruelty and oppression; and the Persians, instead of experiencing a milder government, and more lenient imposts, in consequence of the wealth of India being transferred to their kingdom, were cruelly oppressed by taxes and requisitions, whilst the slightest indication of discontent was construed into treason; and the loss of substance was followed either by severe corporal punishments, or the loss of life by the hands of the executioner. Had Nader died immediately after his triumphant entrance into Delhi, his exploits as a conqueror would have been as brilliant as any thing which had been achieved by man, whilst his acts of tyrannic severity might have been palliated by great and illustrious examples; but his conduct, after that period, marks his character with no other traits than those which distinguish the most cruel and insatiable tyrant. The Indian treasures were de-

posited

posited in the castle of Kelat, by far the strongest fortress in the Persian territory.

We owe the knowledge of a remarkable circumstance in the life of this prince to Mr. Ives; who relates, that Nader meditated a marriage with the Czarina of Russia; the proposal, as might be supposed, was rejected, though in terms of guarded respect. *Voyage from England to India*, p. 219.—A splendid embassy was sent from Persia to that court, after the return of the king from his Indian expedition; and it was then, doubtless, that the treaty of marriage was proposed. The empress who then reigned was Elizabeth, daughter of Peter the Great.

Soon after Nader's return, he caused a translation of the four gospels to be made into Persian; it was executed with all the false ornaments which romantic fiction could supply: when this perverted specimen of the history of Jesus Christ was presented to the king of Persia, he decided very peremptorily on the merits of Christianity, although he had not been many years capable of reading the manuscript; and rewarded the translators in a manner very inadequate to the pains they had bestowed; but he declared his intentions were to institute a religion superior to any promulgated to mankind.—It could not be supposed that the tyrant of Persia and the spoiler of India could relish a religion, the founder of which declared that his kingdom was not of this world. The strong natural powers which Nader possessed, might possibly have assisted him very essentially in an attempt to

rival the prophet of Mecca, if avarice, cruelty, and tyranny, had not at length entirely possessed his soul, and caused him to bear down every thing by dint of his authority, instead of soothing mankind, and conciliating the public voice. Had he still cultivated the insinuating blandishments which procured him popularity in his early career, he might have effected such things as would have for ever dignified his name; but his natural ferocity, which, in many instances, had been suppressed during the former part of his life, now burst forth, and marked the ruling passion in his breast; it narrowed his views, and made even his interest, as well as his ambition, hold a subordinate place; it sunk him into a detestable wretch, the scourge and terror of mankind; and rendered him odious even to those whom he most favoured.

Nader did not long amuse himself with the chimaera of becoming the founder of a new religion; he presently resumed an occupation much better suited to his nature and his habits, by leading an army against the Lesgees or Leczies, a people inhabiting the mountainous country of Dagestan, who had defeated and slain Zoheireddoula, his brother, whilst the principal force of the kingdom was engaged in the Indian expedition; but in prosecuting this war, Nader had well nigh lost his whole army by famine, and was unable effectually to annoy the enemy. The Persian troops were no longer those bold, hardy, and disciplined warriors which Nader had formed; the spoils and manners of India had made them fond of life

life, and unwilling to put it to the hazard. A fresh war with the Turks broke out in 1743, but from it Nader reaped no additional laurels. An impostor was now brought forward, named Saun, who pretended to be a younger son of Shah Nussin: the Turks called him Sefi, but he being defeated on the very spot where Nader had been elected king, the tyrant caused a pyramid of human heads, collected from the prisoners whom he had executed, to be built in memorial of his victory. Insurrections in different parts of Persia soon followed; but Nader at length gained such a signal victory over the Turks, near Erivan, as brought about a peace; and this man of blood, who had escaped numberless dangers in the field, at length died by assassination in his tent. Four Persian officers, whom he had doomed to death, are said to have done this deed. After bravely defending himself for some time, the merciless tyrant implored mercy; but his assassins were as obdurate as himself had been. He was slain on the 8th of June 1747, at the age of sixty years.

This sketch of the life of so extraordinary a man, may serve to convey a general idea of his character: it need only be added, that not a man in Persia could equal Nader in bodily strength; and his voice was so powerful, that it inspired his troops with boldness, and his enemies with dismay. The Persian writer of the life of Nader, translated by Sir William Jones, shews how entirely unacquainted he was with the personal qualities of his hero, by saying,

ing, "his voice, as a man who heard it at the ~~Siege~~ of Bagdad informed one of my friends, was uncommonly clear and strong." *Life of Nader*; page 20.— Yet the translator says in his preface, that this Persian historian, ~~who~~ is somewhere called Mirza Mahadi, "attended his hero in many of his expeditions; and was an eye-witness of the actions which he describes." So palpable a contradiction could not be suffered to escape unnoticed, as the translator's name stamps a consequence on the work.

Persia, already ruined by a succession of tyrants, was now ^{now} exposed to the no less severe oppressions of petty princes, by whom its little remains of strength were exhausted. At length the Indian treasures which had been deposited at Kelat, and had continued untouched during the life of Nader, were seized upon by Ahmet, a prince of Khorasan; who by their means obtained the sovereignty of an extensive country, including the eastern part of Persia, and the acquisitions of the Persian conqueror in India. The Georgians, under prince Heraclius, likewise becoming independent, grew formidable by their conquests and accessions of strength; whilst all the ~~southern~~ provinces, being at length brought under the control of Kerim Kan, enjoyed a state of tranquillity: and we learn from colonel Capper, who passed through Persia in the year 1778, that this prince had then transferred the seat of government to Schiras; and though he had effectually secured himself from the designs of every competitor, and

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was possessed of an army of 60,000 men, yet he chose not to assume the title of king, but contented himself with the less invidious one of "Protector of Persia."

GOVERNMENT.] The Persian government was monarchical, and in every branch of it strictly despotic.

The usual title of the king was *shah*, or *shaw*, as it is pronounced, which signifies, "the disposer of kingdoms," and is the highest title known in Asia; it being equivalent to that of emperor in Europe. They also added to the king's titles those of sultan, and khan or cawn, which is the title of the Tartar sovereigns. His arms were a lion couchant, looking at the sun as it rises over his back.

The Persians readily obeyed all the commands of their prince without reserve; so that if the son was commanded to be his father's executioner, or the father the son's, it must be complied with. Yet they said, if he commanded any thing contrary to the peculiar tenets of their religion, they were under no obligation to obey him. Several writers mention a minister in the Persian court, whom the king commanded to drink with him; but he excused himself by saying, he had been a pilgrimage to Mecca, and could not drink wine without violating the laws of their religion: to which the king replied, "Thousands have gone on pilgrimage to Mecca, and yet drink wine; drink therefore when thy sovereign commands thee." But the minister still refusing,

refusing, the king not only abused him in the grossest manner, but made the servants throw the wine into his face, and pour it by force into his mouth; then threatened him with immediate death: to which the other returned, "That he had a right to his life, but not to his religion; and he chose rather to die than drink." The king then dismissed him from his employments; but he was soon after restored, and seemed to be doubly honoured by the king, for the resolution he had shewn in refusing to violate his conscience.

A prince of a cruel disposition might here give full scope to his inhumanity, and wantonly sport with the lives he is under the most sacred obligations to protect: he might enjoy the infernal satisfaction of making the torments of the guilty a subject of mirth; and of wantonly sacrificing the innocent to his avarice, his humour, or his lust. Hanway gives several instances of the cruelty of Nader that must shock every benevolent mind. A person who had collected taxes, was complained of by the peasants, of whom it appeared he had exacted more than he had accounted for to that prince: this was a capital crime, and he was therefore condemned to suffer death. But Nader, as if he had recollected something particular of this person, cried, "I understand you can dance well; dance, and I will save your life." The man immediately began to dance, doubtless with some transports of joy; but the Shah ordered the executioner to strike him on the legs, which

which preventing his performance, the tyrant cried, "The rascal does not dance well; kill him."

The same worthy author mentions many other instances of the cruelty with which that prince abused his despotic power, among which the following must serve here. The shah having appointed a certain captain-general as governor of a province, imposed on it an exorbitant tax, to be levied in six months. At the expiration of the time, the governor was sent for to the camp, and ordered to produce the account. He did so, but it only amounted to half the sum demanded. The shah called him a rascal, and, telling him that he had taken the other half of the money, ordered him to be bastinadoed to death. His estate was then confiscated, but the value of all his effects fell very short of the sum demanded. The servants of the deceased being then ordered to come into the shah's presence, he inquired of them if any thing was left belonging to their master: to which they answered, "Only a dog." He then commanded the dog to be brought before him, and observed, That he appeared much honestier than his master had been; however, he should be led through the camp, from tent to tent, and beaten with sticks, and wherever he expired, the master of such tent should pay the deficient sum. Accordingly the dog was successively carried to the tents of the ministers, who, hearing the case, immediately gave sums of money, according to their abilities, to procure the dog's removal,
by

by which means the whole sum the shah demanded was paid in the space of a few hours.

By the laws of Persia, the crown was hereditary, but the females were excluded: however, the son of a daughter might inherit, though his mother could not. It was also a law in Persia, that no blind man should be raised to the throne. Hence, as those males that proceed from the female branches were as capable of succeeding as those that spring from the males, that horrid policy of putting out the eyes of all that had the misfortune to be allied to the crown, was executed upon every male of the royal family, whether they proceeded from sons or daughters: and, as there were no common executioners in Persia, the orders for putting out the eyes of the royal infants were executed by any one the king chose. They were even not contented, as formerly, with extinguishing the sight by holding a hot iron to the eye, but the very eye-balls were scooped out with the point of a knife or dagger.

The princes of the royal blood were called 'Mirza, as, Ibrahim Mirza, or Sophi Mirza; the word Mirza signifying the son of a prince.

In the harem were three ranks of women, the princesses who were born there, those by whom the shah had any children, and those whom he had never taken to his embraces; beside these, there were a great number of others, who had the common name of slaves, and were employed in servile offices. When the shah died, the ladies he had conversed with

with as wives were shut up in a quarter by themselves, and none of them permitted to stir out as long as they lived, except the mother of the succeeding prince, who had generally an almost sovereign authority within the limits of the haram. .

The eunuchs belonging to the king's palaces generally amounted to three or four thousand. Men of the first rank had usually half a dozen in their houses, and those of inferior quality two or three. The eunuchs were usually so made when they were between seven and ten years of age; for few of them survive the operation if it be deferred till they are fifteen.

REVENUES.] All the lands of the kingdom were divided into four kinds: the first, those of the state; the second, the king's domain lands; the third, the lands of the church; and the fourth, those that belonged to private persons. Under one or other of these classes all the cultivated lands were included; but these made but a small part of the kingdom, of which more than ten parts to one were desert and uninhabited.

The king had also the seventh fleece, and the seventh of the breed of the cattle in all the lands not appropriated to his use, which was a great addition to the revenue; for the shepherds in Persia possessed large flocks and herds, on which they constantly attended, living in tents, and removing from place to place as they met with pasture.

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In every province was an officer, named the chief of the shepherds, who took the tenth of the sheep, asses, mules, camels, and goats; but as to horses, he is said to have had every third colt; and of silk and cotton, one third of all that was produced throughout the kingdom.

Minerals and precious stones belonged solely to the king; and the money raised by the waters being let into every person's field and gardens, was another considerable part of the revenue. All who were not of the religion of the country, whether natives or foreigners, paid the value of a ducat a head. Every shop of the working trades paid tenpence, and the rest of the shops twenty-pence each.

The customs and port duties were very inconsiderable, there being no port of consequence, except Gambroon. As for the merchandize carried into Persia, or out of it, by land, that only paid a small sum for every camel's load, and in proportion for every mule or ox, without examining what were contained in the packs.

A very considerable part of the revenue arose from the confiscated estates, and the presents made by the great lords, the governors of provinces, and other persons, particularly on New Year's day, when they made presents to the king of every thing esteemed rich and valuable, or that might contribute to the use, the ornament, or the pleasures of life; but, for more than

than half a century past, the principal revenues of the shah have arisen from the most cruel oppressions; the people in the greatest part of the kingdom have been deprived of their whole substance by the tyranny of their princes, and the insatiable avarice of their governors.

[LAWS.] The laws of the Persians are blended with their religion, agreeably to the grand principle of the Mahometans, that the same person ought to bear the spiritual and temporal swords; and be both king and high-priest: that he should command in war and administer justice, as well as explain the articles of faith, and regulate their ecclesiastical discipline; and with this power both Mahomet and his successors the caliphs were invested during the first five centuries. The Persian doctors maintain, that the civil magistrate ought to have no farther concern in the administration of justice, than in executing the sentences of the priest. But this was far from being the case in latter times, the civil power having in a great measure swallowed up that which anciently belonged to the ecclesiastical.

The principal book of laws was the Koran; beside which they had a few other religious writings, which they consulted for the decisions to be made by the courts. There seems indeed but little occasion to consult them, where either the king or the governors of provinces sit in judgment; for their determinations are entirely arbitrary, and they pay no regard either to the Koran or any other books.

Were

Were the Mahometan laws, with the interpretation put upon them by the Imams, strictly observed, Christians would be unable to live in Persia, by their being daily plundered and abused, in pursuance of some precept or passage in the Koran; but both the priests and the people were become more moderate, and had less of a persecuting spirit half a century ago than formerly; and the temporal courts took care that these laws were seldom put in execution.

There were no public halls erected for trying causes; but every magistrate heard them in his own divan, or some convenient room in his garden; where he had no other assistant but his clerk, who understood the law; and as there were no pleadings in writing after the first petition, abundance of time was saved, and a sentence soon obtained.

The temporal courts usually consisted of three persons: these were, the president of the divan, the governor of the city, and the nazir; who decided all criminal cases. As there were no public prisons, there were neither sheriffs nor jailors, but every magistrate confined the criminal in some part of his own house till he was brought to trial, which was generally within twenty-four hours after he was taken; and sentence was no sooner passed than it was executed, the judge's servants performing the offices both of jailors and executioners.

The condemnation of a malefactor in Persia was distinguished by very little ceremony, nor was the execution attended with pomp. He was generally conducted

conducted to a field or open place near the residence of the judge, and the executioner causing him to kneel, the delinquent pronounced his creed, "There is but one God, Mahomet is his prophet, and Ali his friend;" and then, if he was to be beheaded, his head was to be taken off with the motion of a sabre in a thrusting cut, which in drawing it back completes the operation.

In cases of rebellion, the late princes of Persia have been entire strangers to humanity, and, not satisfied with punishing the principals, most, if not all those who were taken in arms, lost their eyes or their heads.

Criminals of state were also sentenced to wear, for a determinate time, a heavy wooden collar about their neck, to which one of their hands was frequently fastened.

If a person had the misfortune to kill another, and the fact was proved before the judges, the offender was not punished by the court, but delivered up to the relations of the deceased, for them to put him to death in what manner they pleased. In such a case all the relations and friends of the deceased assembled, and with loud cries demanded the blood of him who had murdered their kinsman; which the magistrate seldom failed to promise them. But sometimes the murderer, by his presents to the judge, and to the relations of the deceased, procured his pardon. When the relations would be satisfied with nothing less than his life, the judge thus addressed

them: "I deliver you the murderer according to law; make yourselves satisfaction with his blood for the blood that he has spilt; but remember that God is merciful." The judge's servants were then ordered to follow the directions of the prosecutors, and guard the criminal to what place they required; and they followed the criminal, cursing, beating, and abusing him all the way. When he came to the place appointed, the miserable wretch was delivered to the relations, who sometimes inflicted on him the most cruel tortures they could invent; and it is said that the women, who scarce ever appeared abroad on any other occasion, would come and imbrue their hands in his blood.

Ordinary crimes, where the parties were men of substance, were usually punished with fines; but where they were poor, they bastinadoed them on the soles of their feet, giving them a certain number of blows, not under thirty, nor exceeding three hundred.

Pick-pockets and pilferers were marked with a hot iron in the forehead, and housebreakers had their right hand cut off. The same punishment was inflicted on those who counterfeited the coin, for the first offence; but for the second, their bellies were ripped open. They had some other punishments for capital crimes, as, impaling, setting them up to the chin in the earth, precipitating a criminal from a high tower, cutting off the hands and feet, and leaving the poor wretch in that condition till he expired.

They

They sometimes used tortures to extort a confession, as by pinching off the flesh with red hot pincers: but the most usual way of examining offenders, was while they are beating the soles of their feet.

Bakers and victuallers have been sometimes baked and roasted alive for cheating in their weights, and raising provisions to an exorbitant price: but this was only in time of great scarcity; the usual punishment in these cases is a fine, or the bastinado.

RELIGION of the PERSIANS.] The established religion of Persia acknowledges the Koran, to be the great law of the prophet Mahomet, in as full a manner as it is received among the Turks; but this their common faith, has not been influential in producing harmony and concord; for the private interests and views of individuals soon gave rise to such a schism, as rendered Mahomedans as rancorous and fierce against each other, as the professors of the Christian faith have been, when the purity of their religion has been sullied by the dogmas of assuming men.

Ali was Mahomet's brother's son, and married to Fatima, the favourite daughter of the prophet. Hence the Persians infer his right to the succession, which was notwithstanding invaded by his uncles Abubeker, Omar, and Osman, the brothers of Mahomet, whose usurpation, both as kings and prophets, is approved by the Turks. [See a particular account of the rise, progress, and establishment of

Mahomedanism, in the first volume of this work.] Ali at length succeeded; and the dispute might have been lost in oblivion, had he not made different explications of the Koran. This, however, produced no extraordinary effects till the fourteenth century, when Sheffie, a man of an exemplary life, who pretended to a regular descent from Ali, began to teach and expound the Mahomedan law, and the doctrine of Ali's followers, in preference to the precepts taught by the Turkish doctors. This reviving the remembrance of the injury done to Ali by his uncles, the Persians began to curse them in their public prayers, and changed the form of the Mahomedan creed, by giving Ali the title of the friend of God. These two sects being thus divided, those who maintained the succession of Abubeker, Omar, and Osman, called themselves Sunnis, while the followers of Ali took the name of Schias.

The Persians acknowledge that the Mosaic was the true religion before Christ, whom they also believe to be a true prophet and teacher sent from God; but that the religion he taught was contained in a book, which, at Mahomet's coming, was taken by the angel Gabriel into heaven, and the Koran brought down in its stead. They also, like the other Mahometans, say, that Jesus Christ did not die upon the cross, but, as he was going to his crucifixion, he was invisibly translated to heaven; and that Judas being miraculously brought thither in his place, his face appeared like that of Christ, and he was crucified

fied in his stead. Thus they confess the truth of our Saviour's mission, but mingle almost every thing relating to him with extravagant fictions.—The Mahomedans, says Sir William Jones, whatever may be said to the contrary, are certainly a sect of Christians, if indeed they deserve the name, while they follow the impious heresy of Arius. *Description of Asia*, p. xxxiv.—So great is the abhorrence which this learned man entertains of the doctrine which asserts the unity of God!

The Mahomedans have two articles of faith, and five of practice. That there is no other God but God, and that Mahomet is his prophet; that men ought to observe bodily purifications; pray to God at the appointed times; give alms to the poor; fast all the month of Ramezan, and, if possible, go in pilgrimage to the temple of Mecca. To these the Persians add an eighth article, which is, that Ali is the friend of God.

They imagine that as soon as the deceased is laid in his tomb, the grave closed, and the company retired, the departed soul re-enters the body, and is visited by two black angels, terrible to behold, the one called Munkir, and the other Nekir, who oblige the person to sit upright, and question him concerning the unity of God, the mission of Mahomet, and the good or evil he has performed, which they record in a book to be opened at the general judgment: that in the meanwhile the souls of the faith-

ful are filled with transports of joy ; while the wicked endure the dreadful pangs of remorse. They say, the soul wanders about till the body is interred ; but that it has no sooner undergone the first examination in the sepulchre, than it enters an aerial body, in which it continues till the general resurrection, when it will be reunited to its earthly frame.

After the final judgment they maintain, that all men must pass over a certain bridge no wider than a razor's edge ; that unbelievers and the wicked will infallibly fall, in their passage, into hell ; but that the faithful shall pass the bridge swifter than a bird flies through the air, and enter into paradise.

“ The blessed,” say they, “ after they have tasted of the fountain of living waters, shall seat themselves on the banks of the river of delight, which is shaded by a tree so immensely large, that was a man to ride post fifty thousand years, he would not pass the extent of one of its leaves : that Mahomet and Ali shall serve the happy with the water of this delicious river, mounted on the Pay Duldul, an animal that has the head of a woman, the feet of a stag, and the hinder part of a tyger ; that they will be attended by innumerable companies of fair celestial beauties, with large black eyes, (as the word *Houri* literally signifies in Arabic) created on purpose for the enjoyment of the elect.” They also maintain, that they shall enjoy the free use of these voluptuous pleasures, without being capable of sin-

ning, because nothing is forbidden; nor shall they there experience the effects of satiety, but their life, and health, and vigour, will be everlasting.

There are, however, some Persian doctors, who consider all the promises and threatenings in the Koran in a spiritual and allegorical sense, and say, that these things are thus delivered, only to accommodate them to the gross ideas of the people; but that the happiness of paradise really consists in being employed about objects proper for the soul, as, in the knowledge of the sciences, and the sublime operations of the understanding; and that the body shall have pleasures suitable to its nature, and enjoy all the delights of which it is capable; but not, as here upon earth, by meat and drink, and sensual indulgences: that hell shall consist in regret and despair for the loss of paradise, while the body will be afflicted with the most excruciating torments, but after what manner they do not pretend to describe.

They distinguish uncleanness into two kinds; one of which they esteem sinful, from its being absolutely forbidden by their law, as, to drink wine and strong drink, to eat pork, &c.; while the other only communicates a defilement that renders a person unfit to perform certain acts of religion, as to pray to God, or read the Koran, while he continues in this state of uncleanness.

The bigotted Persians lay a greater stress upon the ceremonial part of their law, than on the moral;

for their washings and purifications must be observed, whatever else they omit. They have the maxim of their prophet frequently in their mouths, that "religion is founded in purity, and half of it consists in a man's keeping himself undefiled." Their prayers are held to be vain and criminal when offered up with unwashed hands; and it is the highest prophanation to touch the Koran in such a state. There are, indeed, such a variety of defilements, that though they are obliged to pray five times a day, it is almost impossible to prevent their being polluted between one prayer and another..

As the Persians, like the astronomers of Europe, reckon their day from twelve at noon to twelve the next day, the first hour of prayer is exactly when the sun is in the meridian; the second is in the evening; the third when it is so dark that colours cannot be distinguished; the fourth is to be made on lying down to sleep; and the fifth in the morning, and may be performed at any time between the disappearing of the stars and noon.

In most Mahomedan countries, the times of prayer are proclaimed by the officers of the mosques from their steeples; but in Persia those officers declare the time of prayer from the top of the mosques. Upon common days no more than one or two of these criers are employed; but upon festivals there are sometimes ten or a dozen of them, particularly on a Friday, which is their sabbath; and it can scarcely be conceived how far their voices are heard. They
.. begin

begin with these words, "O God, most great!" which they repeat four times, turning to the four winds; then they add, "The testimony we render to God is, that there is no other God but God, Mahomet is his prophet, and Ali his friend." This they also repeat four times as above, and then say, "Arise and pray, perform that most excellent duty which Mahomet and Ali, the most perfect of created beings, have commanded." If it be at midnight, which is one of their times for offering up prayers of pererogation, or in the morning, they add, "Awake out of your sleep;" and, having repeated the words, "O God, most great!" four times, sing some verses of the Koran, and then conclude with "Omar be accursed." When the people hear these criers, they arise up and go to prayers in their houses, or wherever they think fit.

In performing their devotions, they have several ceremonies, respecting their dress, purifications, gestures, and religious trinkets, which they must by no means omit.

Their prayers are of considerable length, and they seem to perform their devotions with inconceivable reverence and attention; nothing can divert them from what they are about; their eyes remain fixed, and every gesture is exceedingly just, and suitable to the occasion. In short, they perform this duty with greater reverence and attention than most Christians, "Though the Persians," says Hanway, "are become extremely immoral, yet they give one proof
of

of religion vastly superior to the Christians: for I never could observe that they mentioned the name of the Supreme Being, except upon solemn occasions, or at least in a respectful manner.” * *

In all their religious books and discourses, charity is warmly recommended, without which their prayers are held to be vain and ineffectual. They dispose of their alms chiefly in public buildings, such as, erecting caravanseras, bridges, causeways, cisterns, receptacles of water, mosques, colleges, and bagnios.

They have no set time for circumcising their children: some maintain that it ought to be at thirteen years of age, because Ishmael was circumcised at that age; but they generally perform it when the child is four or five years old, on account of its being less painful and hazardous than when they are older. Some barber performs the operation, and applies styptics and astringents to stop the bleeding.

The Persians have several fasts, the most remarkable of which is that named Ramezan, from the name of the month in which it is held, and which lasts from the beginning to the end of it.

The Persians are also required once in their lives to make a pilgrimage to Mecca, the place of Mahomet's birth, where is a little chapel, called the house of God, which, according to tradition, was built by Abraham, and to which all the Mahomedans pay an extraordinary veneration. It has been the policy of the Persian kings, in later times, to transfer

transfer their pilgrimage from Mecca to Mefched; as was observed in the history of Persia.

The principal religious festivals of the Persians are those in commemoration of Abraham sacrificing his son, and that of the martyrdom of the two Imans, Houssein, and Hassein. Those who keep the feast of the sacrifice rise early in the morning, and ride out of the city at break of day, in order to sacrifice a sheep or goat, after which they cause several to be killed in their own houses, and distribute them among the poor. In every great town there is also a general sacrifice of a camel, at which, it is said, the king himself used to assist, when at Ispahan.

The next great festival, which, in many respects, has the appearance of a fast, is in memory of the death, or martyrdom, as they term it, of their patriarch Houssein, who was slain in a battle with the califf of Damascus, who contended with him for the empire, in the sixty-first year of the Hegira. They say, that after he had lost the battle, he retreated with his broken troops into a desert near Babylon; but, when he had been pursued fourteen days, was overtaken by his enemies, and died bravely fighting and covered with wounds. This solemnity continues ten days, during which no trumpets or musical instruments are sounded, and those who observe it strictly neither shave nor go to the bagnio.

Hassein was the oldest brother of Houssein, and was slain in the same war. What the people endeavour chiefly to express is the heat and thirst with
which

which Hossain was afflicted in the desert, which, they say, was so great, that his tongue hung out of his mouth. If they meet either a Pagan or a Christian, they cry, Cursed be Onkar! to which the other, if he would not be insulted, must reply by repeating the same words.

This solemnity seems solely intended to keep up, from political views, an inveterate hatred toward the Turks, whom they esteem their inveterate and most formidable enemies.

As the religion of the Persians leads them to conceive the most wild and extravagant ideas of the agency of invisible beings, these have an influence on their conduct in private life, causing the wildest superstition to tincture all their actions; and, by strongly influencing their hopes and fears, frequently prevents their taking those rational measures which alone can enable them to escape the misfortunes they dread. Hence, instead of having recourse to the dictates of reason, and the measures suggested by prudence, they have recourse to charms, and amulets, formed of inscriptions on paper, and sometimes on precious stones: thus, certain passages of the Koran, worn in a little bag about the neck, are esteemed a sovereign remedy against diseases and enchantments. Sneezing is held a most happy omen, especially when often repeated; the hands with the fingers interchanged, and some particular posture of the body, are esteemed full of magic power; and, if used maliciously, of dangerous consequence. Hanway mentions an officer whom

whom he travelled with, and who was going to the shah to answer for his conduct, who endeavoured to learn by heart a prayer composed by Houssein, which, if repeated right in the presence of the king, he imagined would divert his wrath; but if falsely, increase it. This officer had another spell which he proposed to use; this was the repetition of ten particular letters in the alphabet, as he entered the royal tent, closing a finger at each, and keeping the first clasped till he came before the throne, when he was suddenly to open his hands, and by the discharge of this magic artillery, to subdue the king's wrath. As the minds of the Persians are tainted with an extravagant fondness for the marvellous, they imagine that the meteors, which resemble falling stars, and are vulgarly called so, are the blows of the angels on the heads of the devils who would pry into the secrets of paradise. Cats are held in great esteem, but dogs in abomination; so that, though they use them sometimes at their diversions, dogs are never permitted to come into any room.

In treating of Hindostan, an account was given of the Parsees of India, who were once driven from Persia, and are of the same religion as the Gebers, or Gaur, only differing in some points of smaller moment. They are both descended from the ancient Persians, and both are of the religion of the an-
cient

cient Magi, the followers of Zoroaster. This philosopher, known to the orientalists by the names of Zerdûst, or Zêratust, lived in the reign of Kishktaf, whom the Greeks called Darius the son of Hystaspes, about five hundred years before Christ: he published a moral work, called Zend, or "the Book of Life," which was followed by his Pazend, or a further confirmation of his doctrine, as the Persian word implies. Both these pieces were afterward explained in a commentary intitled Vasta, or Avafta; they inculcated the doctrine of two principles, and recommended the worship of the good principle under the allegory of light, which they opposed to the bad, whose emblem was darkness. The king was much inclined to this doctrine, and raised a number of temples to the sun, the fountain of light; which the people, as usual, conceived in a gross and literal sense, and began to adore the effect instead of the cause, and the figure instead of the archetype. The priests took the hint, and the sun, or Mihra, became really to them, what our alchemists absurdly consider it, a powerful elixir, which transformed their base metals into gold. *Sir William Jones's Short History of Persia, page 51.*—Confucius, or Cumfucu, as the missionaries write his true name, the contemporary with this singular man, reformed and polished the people of China; and, not many years before him, Solon made admirable laws for the Athenians; so that the latter end of the fifth, and

and the beginning of the sixth century, may be called the age of philosophers and law-givers.

But what is most remarkable with respect to these people, is commonly called the everlasting fire; a phænomenon of a very extraordinary nature, about ten English miles from Baku, a city situated in the north of Persia, by an excellent haven of the Caspian sea. This object of their devotion is on a dry rocky soil, where there are several ancient temples built with stone, supposed to have all been dedicated to fire, most of them arched, and only ten or fifteen feet high; among which is a temple, in which the Gebers still preserve the sacred flame, which they pretend has continued burning ever since the flood; and they believe it will last till the end of the world. It rises from the end of a large hollow cane, which is stuck in the ground, in a blue flame, in colour and gentleness not unlike a lamp that burns with spirits, but seemingly more pure. Here are generally forty or fifty poor devotees, who come hither in pilgrimage.

At a small distance from this temple is a cleft of a rock, in which is an horizontal gap two feet from the ground, near six long, and about three broad, from which rises a constant flame, of the colour and nature of that just described. In calm weather it burns low, but when the wind blows, it sometimes rises eight feet high; and yet the flame cannot be perceived to make any impression on the rock. The
Gebers

Gebers here also pay their adorations, and say, that if these fires are stopped in one place, they will rise in another.

What appears still more extraordinary, there is undoubted proof that these fires constantly burn without any supply being added by the people to feed the flame: for Hanway observes, that for above two miles round this place, the earth has this surprising property, that by taking up two or three inches from the surface, and applying a live coal, the part so uncovered takes fire almost before the coal touches the earth: the flames heat the earth without consuming it, or affecting what is near it. Yet this earth, carried to another place, does not produce the same effect. If a cane, or even a paper tube, be set about two inches in the ground, and closed with earth below, on touching the top of it with a live coal, and blowing upon it, a flame instantly issues, without injuring either the cane or the paper, provided the edges be covered with clay. This method they use for light in their houses, which have only the earth for their floor: three or four of these lighted canes will boil a pot, and thus they dress their provisions. The flame may be extinguished in the same manner as that of spirits of wine. The ground is dry and stony, and the more stony any particular part is, the stronger and clearer is the flame; it has a sulphurous smell, like *naphtha*; but it is not very offensive.

Since the greatest part of the Gebers were driven
out

out of Persia by Shah Abbas, there have been few of them who have openly professed their religion in that kingdom; there is, however, a village near Ispahan inhabited by them, from whom it receives the name of Guebarabad.

There is also a sect in Persia, named Souffees, who, though they outwardly conform, for the sake of peace, to the Mahomedan religion, have a system of doctrines that contains the purest mysticism, which contradicting no religion, can put on the forms of all. Their principal aim is to form within themselves a mental elysium, by an extinction of all the passions in sacrifice to God. In this state of quietism they pretend to feel a certain pleasure, like that felt by the body, when, after its being overheated, it is cooled by a refreshing breeze. They recommend three points to be observed in the conduct of social life; these are, a grateful return to friendship, and for benefits received; to win all hearts by generosity; and never to depart from sweetness of temper, truth, and candour.

There are also another people in Persia, whose religion seems compounded of Christianity, Judaism, and Mahomedanism. These are called "Christians of St. John," and sometimes "Sabæan Christians." They dwell near the Persian gulf, where there are said to be many thousand families of them. St. John Baptist is their great saint; and it is said they acknowledge Christ in no other light

than as a prophet, and yet pay an idolatrous worship to the cross. They are said to have lost their ancient sacred books, and to have only one at present which is filled with Jewish and Mahomedan legends, and contains their doctrines and mysteries.

There are also in Persia a number of the Armenian and Georgian Christians; but the latter are not met with out of Georgia, the ancient Iberia.

CHAP. VII.

ASIATIC ISLANDS IN THE
MEDITERRANEAN.

RHODES.

THIS island is situated between thirty-six and thirty-seven degrees of N. latitude, about two hundred and fifty miles to the westward of Cyprus. It is about forty miles in length, and fifteen in breadth, and formerly had the names of Ethræa, Asteria, Corymbia, and some others.

This island was subject to the Greeks, from whom it was taken by the Saracens; but in 1309 the knights hospitallers of Jerusalem took it from them and held it above two hundred years, during which time they resisted the whole Turkish power: but at last it was taken by the Turks under Soliman II. in 1522. It is said the treachery of Andrea d'Amara, chancellor of the order, induced the Turks to attack the place; for being disgusted at not being chosen grand-master, he informed them of the

weakness of the island, by a letter shot to them on an arrow.

This memorable siege was undertaken by Solyman the Magnificent, after he had taken Belgrade from the Hungarians. He attacked this island with an army of 200,000 men, which were conveyed thither by a fleet of 400 sail. The troops on the island consisted of 5000 soldiers, and 600 knights; Villiers de L'Isle Adam, the grand-master, commanded, and proved himself worthy of so great trust. He in vain solicited aid from the Christian powers: the emperor Charles V. and Francis I. were at that time so deeply engaged in their own animosities and contentions, as to exclude all attention to even the most essential general interests of Christendom; and the Roman pontiff, Adrian, exerted all his influence in vain for the relief of a society in the highest degree respected by every Christian power. The grand-master, thus unaided, with signal courage and conduct continued to defend the town, which was a place of great strength, during a vigorous siege of six months; repelling every assault so long as his posts continued defensible, but the town being laid in ruins, he obtained honourable terms from his generous enemy, who admired such uncommon valour and inflexibility. "Charles and Francis," says Dr. Robertson, "ashamed of having occasioned such a loss to Christendom, by their ambitious contests, endeavoured to throw the blame of it on each other, while all Europe, with greater

greater justice, imputed it equally to both. The emperor, by way of reparation, granted the knights of St. John the small island of Malta, in which they fixed their residence; retaining, though with less power and splendour, their ancient spirit and implacable enmity to the infidels." *History of Charles V.* vol. ii. p. 201.

In ancient times this island is supposed to have possessed the famous brazen Colossus, one of the seven wonders of the world, which was so large that a ship under sail might pass between its legs. This statue, which was of such an enormous size that its stride measured fifty fathoms, or three hundred yards, represented Apollo, and was cast entirely of brass by an artist named Charles, of Lyndus, a town in the isle of Rhodes, who was twelve years in constructing it; it was seventy cubits high, and every part being in proportion, the thumb was as thick as a man could grasp in his arms; every finger was of the size of an ordinary statue, and for the direction of vessels into the harbour at night, it held a light-house in its right hand. This prodigious statue was thrown down by an earthquake fifty or threescore years after its erection, and is said to have laid on the ground till the Saracens made themselves masters of Rhodes, who having beaten it to pieces, fourteen hundred and sixty-one years after it was made, sold it to a Jew; who, having carried it by sea to Alexandria, in 954, there loaded nine hundred camels with the metal. But after all, Du Mont has

Z. 3

urged

urged strong reasons for supposing the story to be fabulous; other authors have been of the same opinion: indeed the extravagant dimensions ascribed to it, and such a quantity of brass being suffered to lie on the ground for so many ages, would tempt the most credulous to doubt the truth of the relation.

Part of the city stands on a rising hill; and the whole is three miles in circumference.

CYPRUS.

The island of Cyprus has been famous in all ages for the fertility of its soil, the excellence of its climate, and the advantages of its situation. It lies between thirty-four and thirty-six degrees of N. latitude, and between thirty-three and thirty-five degrees eight minutes E. longitude. It is sixty-nine miles S. of the coast of Caramania, or Cilicia, and thirty-six W. of the coast of Syria. It is about one hundred and fifty miles in length, and seventy in breadth in the broadest part.

In ancient times it was consecrated to Venus, who was styled by the poets "the Cyprian goddess," probably from the wantonness of its inhabitants.

This island was anciently governed by kings, and it had nine of them when it was reduced by Cyrus, who rendered them his tributaries. Long after this the island was conquered by Alexander the Great, and upon the division of his empire, it fell to the

the share of Ptolemy king of Egypt, under whose successors it remained, till the Romans, without any colour for invading it, sent Portius Cato to reduce it under their power, which he accomplished, and brought back to Rome the spoils of the island, amounting to seven thousand talents. After the division of the Roman empire, it became subject to the Greeks; from whom it was taken by the Saracens, but was recovered from them, and governed by dukes or princes. In 1191 it was conquered by Richard I. king of England, who putting in here for fresh water, on his voyage to the Holy Land, met with a very hospitable reception; in return for which he basely subdued the island, and transferred the possession of it to Guy Lusignan, the titular king of Jerusalem, whose family held it for many generations. Under these princes it was divided into twelve counties, containing forty-eight great towns, and upward of eight hundred villages. The Venetians became masters of it in 1473, and held it almost an hundred years; but Selim II. son of Solyman the Magnificent, soon after his father's death, sent his general Mustapha against this island. All the assistance which the pope and the king of Spain could render the Venetians, was not sufficient to save it. Nicolia, the capital, was taken by storm, the city of Tramagosta alone held out for some time, but at length Bragadino, the governor, was compelled to capitulate. Mustapha, untaught by the con-

duct of his former master toward the knights of Rhodes, and even in violation of the terms he had agreed upon, caused the Venetian governor to be slayed alive; and either reduced to slavery or put to death the whole garrison. The lives of 100,000 Turks are said to have been the price paid for this conquest.

In the year 1573 the Venetians concluded a separate peace with Selim II. by which they agreed that he should retain this island.

CHIOS, or SCIO, called by the Turks SAKI SADUCI.

This island shared in the calamities which attended the destruction of the Greek empire. In the year 1093, when robbers and pirates were in possession of several considerable places, Tzachas, a Turkish malcontent, took the city. The Greek admiral endeavoured to reduce it for the emperor Alexis, and made a breach in the wall, when the Turk came to its relief from Smyrna with a fleet and eight thousand men, but soon after abandoned it in the night. In 1306 this was one of the islands which suffered from the exactions of the grand duke Roger, general of the Roman armies. The city was then seized by the Turks, who came before it with thirty ships, and put the inhabitants to the sword. In 1346 some gallies were fitted out by thirty noble Genoese, which took the city. A fleet of sixty vessels was sent
by

by the Sultan in 1394 to burn it and the towns adjacent, and to ravage the islands and sea-coast. Scio experienced much calamity; but, if it be compared with the sufferings of some other places, in those times of rapine and violence, fortune will seem to have concurred with the partiality of nature, and to have distinguished this as a favoured island.

The Genoese continued in possession of Chios about two hundred and forty years. They were deprived of it in 1566, during the siege of Malta by the Turkish admiral, who garrisoned it for sultan Solyman; but the Chiois in general were still indulged with numerous and extraordinary privileges. They consisted of two parties, differing in their religious tenets; one being of the Greek persuasion, which acknowledged the patriarch of Constantinople as their head; the other of the Latin, or Papists, which enjoyed a free toleration under the Turks, their priests celebrating mass as in Christendom, bearing the sacraments to the sick, going in solemn procession, habited, beneath canopies, with censers in their hands, to the year 1694. The Venetians then attacked and took the castle; but abandoned it on a defeat of their fleet near the Spalmadore islands, which lie in the channel between Scio and the continent. The Latins, who had assisted them, dreaded the punishment which their ingratitude deserved; and the principal families, with the bishop, fled and settled in the Morea. The Turks seized

seized the churches, abolished the Genoese dress, and imposed on their vassals badges of their subjection; obliging them, among other articles, to alight from their horses at the city-gate, on the approach of any, even the meanest muskman.

CHAP. VIII.

E G Y P T.

THE Egyptians, like the Chinese, and many other of the eastern nations, maintain that they had a race of kings, the first of whom reigned many thousand years before the flood. However, it is generally agreed, that the princes of the line of the Pharaohs sat on the throne, in an uninterrupted succession, till Cambyfes II. king of Persia, conquered Egypt, 525 years before the birth of Christ: and that in the reign of this race of princes those wonderful structures were raised, which cannot now be viewed without astonishment; and of which something will be said hereafter. After the death of Cambyfes Egypt continued under the Persian government, until Alexander the Great subdued that empire, when it became subject to that prince, who soon after built the celebrated city of Alexandria. That wonderful man possessed talents which qualified him not merely to conquer, but likewise to govern the world, had not his passions enslaved him when every thing external was subdued; yet the noble plans which his original and bold conceptions formed, caused a revolution in the commerce of the world, equally wonderful as his conquests, and much more permanent. After he had subdued and subverted Tyre, he caused its commerce

to be transferred to Alexandria, which soon became the centre of the East India trade.

Alexander was succeeded by Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, 325 years before Christ, who again rendered Egypt an independent kingdom, which it continued to be for the space of 250 years. Ptolemy Philadelphus, his son, collected the Alexandrian library, said to consist of seven hundred thousand volumes; and the same prince caused that translation of the Scriptures to be made into Greek, which is now distinguished by the name of "the Septuagint." His successors ever after retained the name of Ptolemies, and in that line it continued, until Cleopatra, the wife and sister of Ptolemy Dionysius, the last king, ascended the throne, in whose reign Egypt was rendered a Roman province, by Augustus, A. D. 50, and thus remained till the reign of Omar, the second-caliph of the successors of Mahomet, who expelled the Romans, after it had been in their hands 600 years. Omar, actuated by the most barbarous enthusiasm, which led him to consider all necessary and valuable knowledge as comprised in the Koran, caused that inestimable treasure of ancient literature, science, and knowledge, which was deposited in the Alexandrian library, to be reduced to ashes.

From the time of the first Ptolemy to the conquest of Egypt by the Mahomedans, Europe had been supplied with the productions of the East by the Greeks of Alexandria, by the Romans while they were masters of Egypt, and by the subjects of the emperors

emperors of Constantinople, when the kingdom became a province of their dominions; through a period, extending almost to a thousand years.

The caliphs of Babylon were the sovereigns of Egypt, till about the year 807, when the Egyptians set up a caliph of their own, called the caliph of Cairo, to whom the Saracens of Africa and Spain were subject; but the governors of the provinces, under the caliphs of Babylon and Cairo, soon wrested the civil power out of their hands, who had hitherto enjoyed an absolute control in affairs of religion and government, and left them only the shadow of sovereignty.

At length, about the year 1160, Affareddin, general of Norradin, the Saracen sultan of Damascus, subdued the kingdom of Egypt: he was succeeded by his son, the famous Saladin, who also reduced the kingdoms of Damascus, Mesopotamia, and Palestine under his dominion; also, about the year 1190, he took Jerusalem from the Christians. This prince established a body of troops in Egypt, somewhat like the present janizaries, to whom he gave the name of Mamaluks: these became a very intrepid and powerful body of men. The posterity of Saladin sat on the throne till the year 1242, when the Mamaluks deposed Elmutan, and gave the crown to one of their own officers, named Turquemenius. This was the first king of the race of the Mamaluks, which dynasty engaged in continual wars with the Christians in Syria and Palestine, till sultan Araphus drove them entirely out of the Holy Land.

From this account it appears that Egypt was one of the first conquests of the Mahomedans; in consequence of which the Greeks, who had long resorted to Alexandria, as the chief mart of Indian goods, were entirely excluded. Notwithstanding the great fertility of Egypt, yet the country is destitute of many things which are requisite in an improved state of society, either for accommodation or for ornament: too limited in extent, and too highly cultivated to afford space for forests; too level to have mines of the useful metals; it must be supplied with timber for building, with iron, lead, tin, and brass, by importation from foreign countries. The Egyptians while under the dominion of the Mameluks, seem not to have traded themselves in the ports of any Christian state; and it was principally from the Venetians that they received those necessary articles.

When the Portuguese had discovered the route to India by the Cape of Good Hope, their great general Albuquerque, endeavoured to obtain a settlement at some port in the Red Sea; after many unsuccessful attempts he at length became master of the island of Ormus; but the Venetians finding that their very lucrative trade in Indian commodities, which they carried on under the protection of the foldan of the Mamaluks, was in danger of being snatched from them, so far instigated that Mahomedan prince, who was likewise deeply interested in preserving such commerce in its former channel, that he addressed Julius II. who was then pope, and Emanuel, king of Portugal, in a haughty tone, requiring them to
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relinquish

relinquish their new course of navigation; threatening, in case of refusal, to put to death all the Christians in Egypt, Syria, and Palestine, to burn their churches, and demolish the holy sepulchre at Jerusalem. These threats were however disregarded, therefore, as his last resource, he fitted out a fleet in the Red Sea, in order to attack the Portuguese ships wherever they appeared. This he was enabled to do by means of the Venetians; for the love of gain will cause Christians to league with infidels against Christians! The contest was sharp and obstinate for a short time; but in the end the Portuguese entirely annihilated the naval power of their rival in those seas. Soon after, the dominion of the Mameluks was overturned; and Egypt, Syria, and Palestine, were subjected to the Turkish empire by the victorious arms of Selim I. in 1515, who formed a treaty with the Venetians, and granted them great commercial immunities. Ever since this conquest the Turks have retained possession of Egypt.

Since the time the country became subject to the Ottoman empire, it has been divided into twenty-four provinces, each of which is governed by a sangiack, or bey; the major part of these beys reside at Cairo, where always once a week, and sometimes oftener, they sit in council, called by them "the Divan." The basha is the president of the council, and executive member of the government; his office is somewhat similar to the doge of Venice, with rather more authority.—*Colonel Capper's Travels.*—

- All the lands in Egypt are indeed held of the grand seignior,

seignior, and still pay him both an annual rent, and a fine upon every descent.

The basha or sheick belled has his guards, or bodies of spahis and janizaries, like the grand seignior at Constantinople; but, as many of these have estates in such countries, as are under the absolute power of the beys, the basha, if he happens to be at variance with those beys, cannot depend on their protection. Indeed the beys are said to be perpetually laying plots to destroy each other; and upon these occasions, the basha does not fail to assist him who is most likely to make a return of services. Pococke observes, that neither the basha, nor any of the beys, scruple taking off their enemies by poison or the dagger, of which he gives the following instance:—A basha, knowing that the bey, whom he would willingly dispatch, was jealous of his designs, ordered his servants, when he came to visit him, to pour his own coffee and that of the bey's out of the same pot. The bey, seeing this, concluded that it could not be poisoned, and drank it off; but the slave, on his giving the coffee to the basha, made a false step, as he was ordered, and spilt it on the floor; upon which the bey too late perceived the basha's treachery.

The revenues which the grand seignior receives from Egypt arise from the annual rents and customs; also from a poll tax on Christians and Jews. The rents of the villages are fixed, and this is the treasure which is annually sent to Constantinople, and amounts in the whole to six thousand purses, each purse being eighty pounds sterling. This is a very easy rent, and

and when the Nile does not rise sixteen cubits, even this is not paid.

In the year 1770, Ali Bey, a man equally distinguished for his mental and bodily powers, having rendered himself extremely popular in Egypt, openly threw off the Turkish yoke, and mounted the throne of the ancient sultans, being encouraged to this bold attempt by the weak and distressed state of the Ottoman empire: nor did his ambition stop here, but he also laid claim to Syria, Palestine, and that part of Arabia which had been subject to the ancient sultans. No sooner had he thus become a sovereign prince, than his views were directed to make Egypt, what it had formerly been, the great centre of commerce. This patriotic usurper was opposed by his brother-in-law Mahomed Bey Aboudaab, the husband of his sister, whom he had advanced from the condition of a slave to the dignity of a bey. Aboudaab so effectually served the cause of the Turks, that he compelled Ali Bey to retire out of Egypt into Syria; who returning the next year, at the head of 30,000 men, was totally defeated, near Grand Cairo, in May 1773; his army was cut to pieces, and himself taken prisoner; soon after which he died. This event again brought Egypt under subjection to the Porte.

Ancient Egypt was supposed to contain eight millions of inhabitants; at present, its population is not supposed to reach half that number. *Volney II.*

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ANTIQUITIES of EGYPT.] This country abounds with proofs of its great antiquity and ancient grandeur.

deur. Vast ruins of magnificent cities and noble temples still supply scattered memorials to confirm the truth of history, and to exhibit specimens of the architecture of the early ages, before it was improved and brought to perfection by the Greeks.

A little to the north of Cairo, where now stands a Turkish village, the city of BUSIRIS is supposed to have stood, which was renowned for its temple, dedicated to Iris, and some exquisite pieces of sculpture are still remaining, although the present wretched inhabitants scruple not to demolish the most precious productions of art, when they can find in them a ready means of supplying domestic accommodations.

About two leagues farther north are the remains of the ancient city of HELIOPOLIS, called in Scripture *On* (See Genesis, chap. xli. verses 45 & 50), which was distinguished for the worship of the sun, whose priests were eminently skilled in philosophy and astronomy: these first computed time by years of 365 days. The Arabs called this city, "the castle of the lights," from the perpetual fire which was maintained here.

MEMPHIS, in ancient times the capital of Egypt, which in the height of its prosperity was seven leagues in circumference, at present exhibits no vestiges by which to determine its site, concerning which Pliny and Strabo formed different conjectures; whilst Savory and Volney, among the moderns, are equally wide in opinion. But although its situation is not exactly determined, it is however certain that it was destroyed by Cambyfes. This city was the residence of the Pharaohs;

Pharaohs; and here, the patriarch Joseph, when overseer of the corn of Egypt, established his magazines.

THEBES, however, which was the residence of the kings of Egypt before they removed to Memphis, notwithstanding its more remote antiquity, still exhibits a grand assemblage of ruins, which are now generally known by the name of "The antiquities of Carnack and Luxerion," two villages situated among those ruins.

Homer makes his hero Achilles draw a striking picture of Thebes, when, venting his resentment against Agamemnon, he spurns at any gift which could be offered to purchase his friendship for such a man.

Not all proud Thebes' unrival'd walls contain,
The world's great Empress on th' Egyptian plain,
That pours her heroes through an hundred gates,
And spreads her conquests o'er a thousand states.

Iliad, IX. 500. &c.

The poet, as he is emphatically called by Longinus, in this instance, however, seems to have departed from his wonted accuracy, for it does not appear that this famous city had any gates, or was ever encompassed with walls, as no historian makes mention of any, nor are there at this day any traces of them. Diodorus Siculus, to bring off the bard, supposes that he means the gates of the temples.

THE LABYRINTH, according to Herodotus, was built by the twelve kings of Egypt, when the government was divided into twelve parts, and served as so many palaces to meet in, and adjust the affairs of government, and ceremonies of religion. Upon the

model of this very extensive and singular structure, the famous labyrinth of Crete was formed.

[The PYRAMIDS of MEMPHIS and SOCCOTRA.] About four leagues distance from Cairo are the PYRAMIDS, which were formerly ranked among the seven wonders of the world, and cannot now be viewed without admiration. These are situated upon the solid rock, at the foot of the high mountains that accompany the Nile in its course, and separate Egypt from Libya. Their architecture, both on the inside and without, is extremely different with respect to distribution, materials, and grandeur. Some of these are open, others are in ruins, and most of them are inclosed; but all have been injured by time. The immense quantity of materials used in constructing them, renders it impossible for all of them to have been built at the same time, and those that were last erected greatly exceed the first in magnificence and grandeur. They are the works, says Norden; of the most remote antiquity, and even more early than the times of the first historians whose writings have been transmitted to us, the very epocha of their beginning being lost at the time when the first Greek philosophers travelled into Egypt. Herodotus, indeed, names the time when the largest was erected, and makes it the work of Cheops.—See Mr. Beloe's Translation, Vol. I. page 262—370, and the notes annexed.

The principal pyramids being situated near the place where the ancient city of Memphis is supposed to have stood, they are commonly called “the

PYRAMIDS of M M P H I S ;” Mr. Volney calls them “the pyramids of Djira.”

There are four of the pyramids that deserve the attention of the curious ; beside these, there are seven or eight other ; but these last are not to be compared with the former, especially as some are in a very ruinous condition. The four principal are nearly upon the same diagonal line, at about 4000 paces distance from each other ; and their four faces exactly correspond to the four cardinal points. The two most northerly are the largest ; and Mr. Greaves, who measured the bottom of the first, found that it was exactly 633 English feet square, and that its perpendicular height is 500 feet ; but if it be taken as the pyramid ascends, inclining, then the height is equal to the breadth of the base. It is a circumstance pretty generally known, that the square of Lincoln’s-inn-fields, in London, was laid out by Inigo Jones, according to the exact size of the base of this pyramid.

No entrance could be gained into some other of the larger pyramids, by the greatest exertions of labour, and the use of every means which invention could suggest.

This is the pyramid which Herodotus says was built by Cheops. He reigned fifty years, twenty of which he employed upon this vast fabric, and three-fourths of the inhabitants of Egypt were employed, by forced service, in hewing, transporting, and raising the stones. It is supposed to have been erected about before Solomon’s temple, or 860 years before Christ. M. Maillet supposes the pyra-

mid to be a vast Mausoleum; that in the upper chamber the body of the king was deposited, and in the lower one that of his queen. He forms this opinion, not on any traces which have been met with of a body, for none have been found, but because, on the eastern side of the lower apartment, there is a niche, sunk three feet into the wall, and eight feet high by three wide; here, he is confident, that a mummy had been placed, according to the custom in Egypt, and he is equally satisfied that the king was deposited in the upper hall, although there is no niche to confirm the fact. To the opinion of this learned Frenchman, may be opposed that of our countryman Dr. Shaw, who observes, that the great chest of granite found in the upper chamber, or hall, of the pyramid, was probably intended for some religious use, it being of a different form from the stone coffins used in Egypt. Maillet asserts, that when the body of the king who built this pyramid was deposited in this superb mausoleum, several living persons, destined never to come out of it, and to be buried alive with their prince, were introduced there at the same time; this he is convinced of from having observed two holes, one toward the north, the other toward the east, which are elevated three feet and an half above the pavement, one in an horizontal direction, which he says was designed to admit air to the persons enclosed in this tomb, and by this they were supplied with their food. When they entered this receptacle, he supposes that each person was furnished with a coffin, to receive him

him when dead, and that they successively rendered each other this last pious duty, until the last survivor, who must want that succour which his companions had derived from himself and others. The other hole, which descends to the bottom of the pyramid, served to empty dirt and filth. This conclusion, though very confidently drawn, being supported neither by any traditional evidence, nor by any thing found within the pyramid, a sceptic in such an opinion might ask, where are the remains of these coffins? what is become of the skeletons? Not even a bone of those victims, who are supposed to have been thus devoted to the manes of their prince, is known to have been found, and neither avarice nor curiosity could induce a removal of them. But though in this instance not one corroborating circumstance can be produced, yet it is certain that the practice of immuring the living in the tomb of a deceased king did prevail in those times

Which first taught souls enslav'd, and realms undone,
Th' enormous faith of many made for one.

At near ten miles distance from these pyramids are those of SOCCOTRA, written by Volney, Sakary (I. 280). They extend from N. to S. and are situated at the foot of the mountains, in a vast plain.

One of the pyramids, which rises above the rest, is called "the Great Pyramid to the North." Norden measuring this structure, found that the east side extended 690 feet, and the north side 710. The perpendicular height is 345 feet.

At the distance of a mile to the S. E. is another,

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called

called "the Great Pyramid to the South," which is about 600 feet square at the bottom. It seems to have been cased all the way up, and is built within of hewn stone.

On a lower ground, about two miles to the E. of the last great pyramid, is one built of unburned brick, which seems to have been made of the mud of the Nile, it being a sandy black clay, with some pebbles and shells in it, and mixed up with chopped straw, in order to bind the clay together, as unburned bricks are at present usually made in Egypt, and other parts of the East. It seems not improbable that this pyramid was built by the Israelites, and that they also made the bricks of which it is formed; for Josephus says, "when time had extinguished the memory of the benefits performed by Joseph, and the kingdom was transferred to another family, the Israelites were used with great rigour; they were ordered to cut canals for the Nile, to raise dykes, and to erect fantastical pyramids." *Jos. Ant. lib. II. chap. ix.*

Many learned men have been of opinion that these pyramids were erected for the purpose of making astronomical observations, and to serve as sun-dials, by which the variation of the shadow, in proportion to its height, could be taken with a degree of accuracy. What supports this opinion is, that two of the sides of every one of these buildings stand exactly north and south, so as to be true meridian lines, and the other two sides stand as exactly east and west. Plato first suggested this idea; but a strong objection to it is, that the variation in the

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the position of the earth in its orbit, although extremely slow and gradual, yet would, in such a prodigious revolution of years, be found to have occasioned a considerable deviation from the true meridian line of these pyramids in modern times: perhaps no modern traveller has taken an observation of their present position with sufficient accuracy; otherwise the objection is decisive. M. Volney objects on another ground, saying, "It could not be necessary to erect eleven observatories so near each other, as the pyramids of different sizes are;" and in support of the opinion that they were Mausolea, he expresses himself as follows: "This sterile spot, remote from all cultivated land, possesses the qualities requisite for an Egyptian cemetery, and near it was that of the whole city of Memphis, the plain of Mummies. If we consider all these things we shall no longer doubt that the pyramids are only tombs: we shall cease to wonder that the despots of a superstitious people should have made it a point of importance and pride to build for their skeletons impenetrable habitations, when we are informed, that even before the time of Moses it was a dogma at Memphis, that souls at the expiration of six thousand years should return to the bodies they had quitted. It was for this reason that so much pains were taken to preserve the body from putrefaction, and that endeavours were used to retain even its form, by means of spices, bandages, and every kind of preservative against corrosion. *Volney's Travels*, I. 277. .

In so symbolical a religion as that of the ancient Egyptians,

Egyptians, it is not improbable that the pyramidal form might convey some sacred meaning; and perhaps the pyramids themselves might be objects of their adoration as symbolizing the Deity.

[The CATACOMBS and EGYPTIAN MUMMIES.] In the same plain in which these last pyramids are placed, are the CATACOMBS, in which are found the remains of embalmed bodies, swathes scattered up and down, and sometimes coffins standing upright and entire, made of sycamore or Pharaoh's fig-tree, that have continued in these subterraneous apartments above three thousand years, though the wood is to appearance spongy and porous. Bishop Pocock brought one of these mummies to England, the latter end of the last century, which is now at Oxford, and several other are preserved in the cabinets of the curious.— See an account of a mummy which was inspected at London, in the year 1763, in the *Phil. Trans.* for 1764; also *Dr. Blumenbach's observations in part ii. for 1794, article 14.*

Among the catacombs is one for the birds and other animals worshipped by the ancient Egyptians; for when they happened to find them dead they embalmed them, and swathed them with the same care as the human bodies. This catacomb is much more magnificent than the rest. The birds are deposited in earthen vases, covered over and stopped close with mortar; they were embalmed by dipping them in gums and aromatic drugs, and were bound up, like the human bodies, with many folds of linen.

At some distance is a SPHYNX, whose enormous

bulk attracts the admiration of every beholder. It is cut out of the solid rock; and Dr. Pococke observes, that what some have thought joinings of the stones, are only veins of the rock. This extraordinary monument, which is said to have been the sepulchre of Amasis, is about twenty-seven feet high. The lower part of the rock, or beginning of the breast, is thirty-three feet wide, and it is about a hundred and thirteen feet from the fore-part of the neck to the tail; but the sand is raised about it to such a height that the top of the back can only be seen. This monument of antiquity is very much disfigured by the Mahomedans, who imbibe, from their religion, a detestation of any representation of a human being or any animal. M. Paw, in his *Recherches Philosophiques sur les Egyptiens et les Chinois*, supposes that the sphynxes found in Egypt, composed of the body of a virgin grafted on that of a lion, were images of the divinity, who was represented as an hermaphrodite. Savary accounts for this symbol, by saying, that, as it is under the signs of the Lion and of the Virgin (in August and September) that the Nile overflows its banks, and fertilizes Egypt, the Sphynx was an hieroglyphic, which reminded the people of the most important event of the whole year. *Letters on Egypt*, I. 287. The Nile begins to rise in the month of June, and probably does not attain its summit until the end of July. *Pococke.*

CHAP. IX.

A B Y S S I N I A.

THE empire of Abyssinia is indifferently called Abyssinia, Abasi, or Habessinia, from the Arabic Herbesth, which signifies a mixture, the country being peopled by various nations; but the inhabitants themselves call it Itjopia or Ethiopia. It has also been known, though absurdly, by the name of Prefter John's country. It extends from thirty-two degrees to forty-five degrees E. longitude, and from seven degrees twenty minutes to about sixteen degrees N. latitude. It is bounded on the N. by the kingdom of Nubia; on the E. by Azamia, and a vast chain of mountains which separate it from the Red Sea; on the S. it is bounded by Alaba, called by Mr. Bruce, Galla; and on the W. by parts little known.

The Abyssinian empire appears to have been from its first foundation entirely despotic; and, according to their annals, there never was a period of time since its first origin, when the princes of this country did not claim an absolute right over the lives, liberty, and fortunes of their subjects, as well as an uncontrollable authority in all ecclesiastical affairs; and it is not known, that there ever were any written laws

laws to restrain this exhorbitant power, or secure the liberties of the subject.

- These princes boast their being descended from Mentlehech, the son of Solomon, king of Israel, by the queen of Sheba. According to them this prince reigned twenty-five years after her return from Judea, and was succeeded by this son, from whom descended a series of princes in a direct line down to the year nine hundred and sixty, when the crown passed into another family, but was afterward restored to the former. Hence the emperor still retains the pompous titles of "the Beloved of God," "Son of the Pillar of Sion," "Kinsman to the race of Judah," "Son of David and Solomon," and "Emperor of the Great and high Ethiopia, its kingdoms and provinces," &c. They also bear in their arms a lion holding a cross, with this inscription in the Ethiopic tongue, "The lion of the tribe of Judah is victorious."

The respect paid to this prince amounts almost to adoration; those who are admitted to his presence fall prostrate before him, and kiss the earth as they approach his person; and it is said that even in his absence they never hear his name mentioned without bowing very low, and touching the ground with their hand. The other marks of grandeur chiefly consist in the retinue with which he is attended; for he is not only accompanied by his own household and guards, which are very numerous, but by all the grandees and officers of the empire, who strive

strive to outvie each other in the greatness and splendour of their retinue, in the richness of their dress, and the magnificence of their pavilions. As they chiefly live in tents, the emperor's camp always takes up a large space of ground, and makes a very splendid appearance, to which the regular disposition of the streets, the great variety of tents, streamers, and other ornaments, especially the many lights and fires at night, do not a little contribute; so that the whole appears like a vast open and regular city, in whose centre, or on some eminent part of it, stands the imperial pavilion, which excels all the rest in height, bulk, and grandeur. Next to it are those of the empresses and royal family, and then those of the officers of the court, all appearing with proportionable, though inferior lustre: to these may be added those large and stately pavilions which serve as churches, upon which they bestow no small expence, in adorning them both within and without. In short, the imperial camp is of vast extent, and yet good order is commonly observed in it. It has markets, courts of justice, and places where young persons of rank perform a variety of exercises on horseback. But all the rest resembles only a great number of long extensive lanes, of mean ordinary taste, or low miserable huts of lath and clay covered with straw, which serve the emperor's guards, soldiers, and a prodigious multitude of suttlers and other attendants.

When the emperor removes his camp, or, as it
may

may be properly styled, his metropolis, which is chiefly occasioned either through the want of wood, provisions, or the different wars in which he is engaged, the chief care is to choose a convenient and spacious spot.

Since the time that these accounts were written, the empire has been greatly weakened by long and fierce intestine commotions, and the grandeur of the emperor consequently much diminished; but Mr. Bruce gives the following instances of his despotic power, and of the servile homage which is paid to him. It is death to strike, or lift the hand to strike in the king's presence. *Travels*, IV. 70. Sitting on the king's saddle, or in his seat at Gondar, is high treason. III. 586. In all places where a governor is invested with supreme power, it is customary to have an arm-chair left empty in the middle of the hall where justice is administered, which represents the sovereign, and to which obeisance is made. IV. 357.

There is an officer named Kal Hatze who sits always upon the steps, at the side of the lattice window, where there is a hole, covered in the inside with a curtain of green taffeta: behind this curtain the king sits, and through the hole sends, by this officer, what he has to say to the board, who arise, and receive the messenger standing. *Travels*, IV. 76.

When the king was marching with his army, the Shum or lord of a district through which he passed and his son were both hanged, because a branch of
a tree

A tree which reached across a piece of water had taken off the king's cap, and left him bare-headed.

IV. 66.

Although the crown of Abyssinia is hereditary, and must be preserved in the same family; yet the emperor, if he pleases, may choose any one of his children whom he thinks most worthy to succeed him. This probably gave birth to the severe custom, formerly observed in this empire, of confining all the princes of the blood to the fortress, or rock, called Ambaguexen, which some have described as a severe and disagreeable place of confinement, on the summit of a lofty mountain; while others represent it as an earthly paradise, in which these princes enjoyed every blessing except liberty, and were educated in a manner suitable to their birth. This custom, according to Lobo, was established in the year 1260, and had been abolished some time when he was in the empire. From it the late Dr. Johnson founded his pleasing romance of Rasselas.

The Abyssinian monarchs, like their ancient progenitor Solomon, king of the Jews, allow themselves a plurality of wives; and not only imitate him in that, but in taking those of different religions, even Mahomedans and Gentiles; and some have carried this so far, as to allow their heathen wives to have their own temples and idols; so that on one side might be seen the church of God, and on the other a pagan temple. Others, however, have had so much regard to their religion, as to cause those Pagan

or Mahomedan ladies to be instructed and baptized before they married them. The generality of these princes, however, choose to marry the daughters of noble families among their subjects; while others pay a greater regard to the natural endowments of the mind, or the beauty of the person, than to their noble extraction.

It was formerly the custom for the emperors never to appear in public, and they were seldom known to trouble themselves with the affairs of government, the care of which was committed to two ministers, called *babluded*, or favourites: but this custom has been long abolished, and they shew themselves to their subjects at least three or four times a year, though none is allowed to see them eat, except the pages who feed them (for both they and all the great have their meat cut into bits, and conveyed to their mouths by young pages): when they give audience to foreign ambassadors, they always sit out of sight behind the curtain.

The revenues of the empire seem to be very inconsiderable, and chiefly arise from the four following branches: the first is the tribute paid by the governors of such provinces and kingdoms as abound with gold, which amounts to no more than about five or six thousand ounces *per annum*, one year with another. The next branch arises from the sale of all the great offices of the empire, and the yearly tribute they pay him. The third branch consists of a tenth of all the

cattle of the empire, which is levied every third year, and the fourth of a piece of cotton cloth paid for every cotton loom.

Notwithstanding the despotic power which prevails in Abyssinia, and no less in Nubia, yet the king of Sennaar, a country between them, possesses his sovereignty, subject to a condition which renders him entirely at the mercy of his nobles; and yet the first title of nobility in the country is that of slave; "there is indeed," says Mr. Bruce, "no other. Upon any appearance of your undervaluing a man at Sennaar, he instantly asks you, if you know who he is? If you do not know he is a slave; with the same idea of aristocratical importance, as would be expressed in England, upon a like occasion, Do you know to whom you are speaking? Do you know that I am a peer? All titles and dignities are undervalued and precarious, unless they are in the hands of one that is a slave; slavery in Sennaar is the only true nobility." IV. 459.

The restriction alluded to above, under which the king of Sennaar reigns, is as follows: when a king ascends the throne, he receives his dignity upon this express condition, that he may be lawfully put to death by his own subjects or slaves, upon a council being held by the great officers, and they decreeing that it is not for the advantage of the state that he should be suffered to reign any longer. There is one

officer of his own family, who alone can be the instrument of shedding his sovereign's and kinsman's blood: this officer is called *Cid el Coom*, which means, master of the king's household or servants, but he has no vote in deposing the king, nor is any guilt imputed to him, although he should thus officially murder many of his sovereigns. *Achmet Sid el Coom*, with whom Mr. Bruce was upon the most intimate terms, while he continued at Sennaar, resided in the king's (Ismain's) palace: he had put to death the late king, Nasser, and two of his sons, who were well grown, beside a child at its mother's breast, and he was expected every day to be directed to act the same part by Ismain, though at that time there was no malice on the one part nor jealousy on the other, although Mr. Bruce believed each of them had an apprehension of what was likely to happen. This royal executioner told our traveller with great coolness, in answer to the question why he murdered Nasser's sons in his father's presence? that he did not dare to do otherwise from duty to Nasser, whose right it was to see his sons slain in a regular and lawful manner, and this was by cutting the throat with a sword, and not by a more ignominious and painful death, which if it had not been done in his father's sight, the vengeance of their enemies might have suggested and inflicted. He said that Nasser was very little concerned at the spectacle of his two sons' death, but very loath when it came to his turn to die, earnestly conjuring Achmet to suffer him to escape,

but finding all entreaties vaint, he submitted without resistance. Mr. Bruce asked Achmet, if he was not afraid, when he entered into the king's presence, lest he too might take it into his head to shew him that to die or be slain was not so slight a matter as he made of it? He said by no means; that it was his duty to be with the king the greatest part of the morning, and necessarily once very late in the evening. That the king knew he had no hand in the harm that might be done to him, nor any way advanced his death; but being come to the point that he must die, the rest was only a matter of decency, and it would undoubtedly be the object of his choice rather to be slain by the hands of his own relation in private, than by those of an hired assassin, an Arab, or a Christian slave in public view. *Travels*, IV. 462.

RELIGION of the ABYSSINIANS.] It has already been intimated, that the Abyssinians boast their having received both their kings and the Jewish religion from Solomon. Of this they have an ancient record, which gives the following account of this singular event: "That a great and potent queen, named Azeb, or Maqueda, reigning in Ethiopia, being informed by a merchant, named Tamerin, of the great power and wisdom of Solomon, travelled to Jerusalem, attended by a retinue of the greatest princes and nobles of Ethiopia, and with immense treasure. There Solomon instructed her in the knowledge of the true God; and upon her return home, at the en-
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of nine months, she was delivered of a son, who was called Menilehech, and also David. This son afterward going to Jerusalem to see his father Solomon, was magnificently entertained by him, and anointed king of Ethiopia, by Zadoc, the high-priest; and when he was thoroughly instructed in the law of God, which he was to cause to be observed in his dominions, Solomon assigned several of the first-born of Israel to attend and serve him in Ethiopia, and furnished him with officers and servants belonging to the house of Judah, with a high-priest, levites, and doctors in the law of Moses."

There is nothing in this account very improbable; but the same record adds many circumstances that are evidently false; as, that the first-born of Israel, at the instigation of Azariah, the son of Zadoc, went to Jerusalem, and fetched the ark out of the temple; and, being assisted by a train of miracles, escaped the pursuit of Solomon, and arrived with it in Ethiopia; it is not, however, improbable, that the prince of Abyssinia might cause another ark to be made like that formed by Moses; and that this story might be afterward invented, in order to procure it a more general veneration. Such an ark is said to be still kept, but is so closely concealed, that even their monarchs are not admitted to the sight of it.

The Abyssinians maintain, that they were con-

verted to Christianity by the eunuch or prime minister of their queen Candace, or, as they call her, Handake, who, after his conversion by Philip, they say returned into Ethiopia, and gave his queen a full account of all that had passed; upon which that princess also believed in the Gospel. However this may be, Athanasius, patriarch of Alexandria, in the year 335, ordained Frumentius, bishop of Axuma, and sent him to preach the Gospel in Ethiopia. This he performed with great success; the discipline of the church was then settled conformably to that of Alexandria; priests and deacons were every where ordained; liturgies, articles, and canons were settled and confirmed; and the Abyssinian church was brought to acknowledge herself wholly subject to, and dependent upon, that of Alexandria.

The early travellers to the east, such as Rubruquis, Marco Paulo, and others, gave to the empire of Abyssinia the name of Prester, or Presbyter John's country, from the great power and authority which was possessed by the chief ecclesiastic; but Lobo accounts for this name being given to Abyssinia, because the country was confounded by the Portuguese, with an ancient and famous Christian state called by that name in the Indies, which is now known as the country of the Grand Lama. *Voyage to Abyssinia, p. 44.* The report which had been spread in Europe, of Christianity

tianity being professed in this remote and secluded country, induced John II. king of Portugal, when intent upon opening a communication with the East Indies, to attempt to gain some knowledge of Abyssinia also. To effect both these purposes, he sent Pedro de Covillam and Alphonso de Payva, about the year 1488, who were both thoroughly versed in the Arabic language, into the East. The two travellers repaired to Cairo, whence they travelled in company with a caravan of Egyptian merchants, and crossed over to Aden on the Red Sea, where they separated; Payva sailed directly toward Abyssinia, Covillam embarked for the East Indies. The latter completed his travels successfully and safely, but the former was unfortunately murdered, and the country remained entirely unknown to Europeans until some missionaries were hardy enough to visit it early in the last century.

The Abyssinians, however, retain many of the Jewish ceremonies. They circumcise not only the male but the female infants, which last is done by cutting off a small piece of skin from the clitoris. They abstain from blood, things strangled, the flesh of swine, and the other animals prohibited by the Mosaic law. According to Mr. Bruce, hares are likewise interdicted for food. They use purifications and washings after certain defilements. They oblige a man, if his brother die without

male issue, to marry his widow, and raise up seed to his name; and they keep the seventh-day sabbath.

On the other hand, they believe the doctrine of the Trinity, and that Christ shall come again in glory to judge the quick and the dead, when the just shall inherit the kingdom of heaven, and unrepenting sinners be sent into hell. Mr. Bruce relates that a dwarf belonging to Ras Michael, prime minister of Abyssinia, whose name was Dono, constantly spent his time in reading the scriptures, the acts of the councils, the works of St. John Chrysostom, and other such books as they have among them. *Travels* IV. 101.

The Abyssinian clergy are allowed to marry. The people never enter their churches without pulling off their shoes or sandals. The divine service consists of a set of prayers, psalms, and hymns suitable to the seasons, and for the most part is performed with great decency and devotion, without any of that pomp and ceremony used in the church of Rome. They have no bells, but call the people to the church by the sound of wooden hammers. They have neither pews, benches, nor hassocks, but continue standing all the time. In none of these edifices, whether sumptuous or mean, are any statues or carved images of any kind, except pictures: they will not suffer any crucifixes, whether carved or cal-

in

in metal, to be seen in them, or to be worn about their necks.

There are three sects prevailing in Abyssinia, the Galla, Shangalia, and Mahomedans; to which must be added the Agows of Damot, who live near the fountains forming the stream which has been called the source of the Nile. They are Pagans, and pay divine worship to these waters, which run into the great lake of Tzana or Dembea,

CHAP. X.

BARBARY STATES.

THIS country, forming the northern boundary of Africa, in its fullest extent, stretches from Egypt on the E. to the Atlantic Ocean on the W. including thirty-five degrees of longitude, or from ten degrees W. to 25 degrees E. Its northern part forms the southern shore of the Mediterranean Sea, and is of a very irregular shape; in some parts approaching to the thirtieth degree of N. latitude, and in others reaching beyond thirty-seven degrees. Its length from N. to S. bears no proportion to its limits from W. to E.; being bounded on the S. by a desert country little known. On the Atlantic are the kingdoms of Fez and Morocco, and on the Mediterranean, Algiers, Tunis, Tripoli, and Barca.

The northern parts of this country were probably first planted by the Egyptians; but the early periods of the history of this extensive region, which in ancient times was called Lybea, are involved in the greatest obscurity. The Phœnicians afterward sent colonies hither, and built Utica and Carthage, about

137 years before the foundation of Rome ; the latter situated near the spot on which Tunis now stands. The Carthaginians soon became powerful and wealthy by trade, and finding the country divided into a great many petty kingdoms and states, either subdued the princes on that coast or made them tributary. As they gradually advanced in power, most of the islands in the Mediterranean sea became subject to them ; the rich and extensive kingdom of Spain also fell under their dominion. At length the ambitious views of Carthage began to clash with those of Rome. At the time of this dreadful collision a war between the two nations was instantly kindled, and carried on with such obstinacy and fury, as plainly indicated that it could only be terminated by the utter destruction of the one or the other. Rome, then in the height of her republican and patriotic principles, was threatened to be overwhelmed by the Carthaginian power led on by Hannibal, but at length her firmness and good fortune effected her deliverance ; after many hard fought battles, in which the most consummate generalship was displayed, Rome obtained a decided superiority over her rival, corrupted by her riches, at the same time torn and weakened by intestine divisions, raised by the baneful spirit of party. The commercial people at length became the slaves of the warlike power, 146 years before Christ.

The Romans remained sovereigns of the coast of
Barbary

Barbary till the Vandals, about the middle of the fifth century, reduced it under their dominion.

These people by their irresistible impetuosity subdued all Spain, passed the pillars of Hercules (now named Gibraltar), and, like an inundation, spread themselves over the country of Lybea. They would have retained the conquests they had acquired, could they have cherished that military spirit with which their king Genseric had inspired them; but with this barbarian, who had great powers of mind, that spirit became extinct: military discipline was relaxed, and a government which was supported merely by such a principle, was overthrown as soon as that failed. The Roman, or rather the Grecian emperors, recovered Lybea. Belisarius, the general of Justinian, subdued these people, extirpated them, and re-established the empire, with all its ancient privileges. It remained under their dominion till the Saracen caliphs, the successors of Mahomed, rendered formidable by their institutions and their successes, armed with the Koran and the sword, compelled the Romans, weakened by their divisions, to repass the sea. These generals augmented that vast dominion, which Mahomed had founded, by adding the northern parts of Africa. The lieutenants of the caliphs afterward deprived their masters of these rich spoils, and erected the provinces entrusted to their care into independent states, of which the sovereignty of Morocco was the most con-

considerable, possessing the N. W. part of that country, which in the Roman division obtained the name of Mauritania Tingitana, from Tingis, or Tangir, the capital, and is now styled the empire of Morocco, comprehending the kingdoms of Fez and Morocco.

In the eighth century these Mussulmans made a conquest of the greatest part of Spain; but after the loss of Granada, which happened about the year 1492, they were dispossessed of that country; and Ferdinand and Isabella, who were then upon the throne of Spain, obliged them to renounce their religion, or transport themselves to the coast of Africa. Those who made choice of the alternative of going into exile, to revenge themselves on the Spaniards, and supply their necessities, confederated with the Mahomedan princes on the coast of Barbary, and having fitted out little fleets of cruising vessels, took all the Spanish merchant ships they met with at sea, and, being well acquainted with the country, landed in Spain, and brought away multitudes of the inhabitants, whom they reduced to slavery. The Spaniards hereupon assembled a fleet of men of war, invaded Barbary, and having taken Oran, and many other places on the coast of Algiers, were in a fair way of making an entire conquest of that country, but they were stopped in their career by the famous corsair Barbarossa, who, with his brother, were invited thither to defend those natives, each professing the Mahomedan faith; but the natives, as well as their Christian opponents, suffered severely by this invitation. Their history is very singular.

These two brothers, named Horuc and Hayradin, were the sons of a porter in the isle of Lesbos. The elder obtained the additional name of Barbarossa, from the red colour of his beard; and it afterward became the common surname of both. The strength of their natural disposition led them, when youths, to associate with pirates, among whom they became distinguished by their undaunted courage and spirit of enterprise. After acting with these freebooters for some time, their superior talents raised them to the command of a vessel, with which they proved so successful, that Horuc Barbarossa became the admiral of a considerable fleet of corsairs, and his brother Hayradin bore the second command. With this force they enriched themselves and their followers with the spoils which they procured on the Mediterranean sea, and in the Levant. Early in the sixteenth century, the invitation which Eutemi, king of Algiers, gave to the elder brother, for the purpose of assisting him against the Spaniards, brought that kingdom under his control; and he made no scruple to seize it, and assume a kingly power. In the year 1516, soon after Charles V. succeeded to the crown of Spain, Cardinal Ximenes, who conducted the affairs of the kingdom, sent an army against Barbarossa, but the ill conduct of the commander occasioned a very disgraceful overthrow: two years after, the marquis de Comares, governor of Oran, defeated the usurper in several engagements, and he was at length slain. On his death, Hayradin, who was also sur-

named

named Barbarossa, succeeded him in the kingdom of Algiers; when, to render the tenure more secure, as well against the insurrections of the Moors and Arabs who disliked his government, as against the attacks which might be made by Christian powers, he voluntarily offered Solyman II. to put his kingdom under the protection of the Turkish empire, which was readily accepted, and the emperor sent him a body of Turkish infantry for his defence. The reputation which he had acquired as a naval commander, caused him, some time after, to be appointed to the command of the Turkish fleet, then waging war with the Venetians. He bore the rank of captain basha. He afterward, by the assistance of the Turks, subdued the kingdom of Tunis, and dethroned Alrafchid, a son of the late king, who had seized the crown. With this great increase of territory and strength, his depredations on the commerce of the Christians in the Mediterranean rose to a grievous height. But although such outrages were committed upon all indiscriminately; whilst the value of the plundered property, and the numbers which were carried into slavery strongly affected the interests, and roused the feelings of all; yet the jarring interests, and bitter animosities which prevailed among the great powers of Europe, prevented their joining, as in one common cause, against such fierce and lawless depredators. At length the emperor Charles V. among all the Christian princes, stood forward to crush these miscreants. Although the injuries which his subjects

subjects sustained were sufficient to prompt this measure, yet a farther incentive at that time occurred; this was an application made by Muley-Haseen, a brother of Alraschid, and deposed by him, before the capture of Tunis by Barbarossa, to restore Muley to the kingdom of his ancestors.

In the year 1535, vast preparations were made, and a formidable force by sea and land assembled. The emperor, whose disposition led him to delight in military operations, determined to command this armament in person. It would have been well for the happiness of mankind, if his restless and turbulent spirit had not led him to stir up dissensions and wars in Europe, for causes less justifiable than those which led to this war. The emperor embarked at Barcelona, and proceeded to Cagliari, in the island of Sardinia, where the whole force was assembled. He was joined by Andrew Doria, the famous Venetian admiral, with a number of galleys; to whom the command of the whole fleet was consigned, which consisted of near 500 vessels, having on board above 30,000 regular troops. The strong fortress of Golletta, to the westward of the city of Tunis, near which the renowned city of Carthage formerly stood, and which defends a capacious and secure bay which bears the same name, was taken by storm, and the whole of Barbarossa's fleet, which was moored in the bay, under the protection of the fortress, was the first fruit of that success: the arsenal immediately followed. The emperor proceeding with a rapid march to the city, Barbarossa came forth

forth to give him battle, with an army of 50,000 men, but although the onset of the Moors and Arabs was furious, yet the cool and well-directed bravery of the disciplined troops of Spain withstood and repelled the attack, driving them back in great confusion into the city, where 10,000 Christians, who were held in slavery, having found means to extricate themselves from their chains, and o'er-master their keepers, rushed upon the garrison which defended the city, and joyfully received their victorious Christian brethren. Barbarossa, before his departure to the battle, had proposed to his principal officers, the massacre of all these captives, lest they should avail themselves of the general commotion; but the proposal was so big with sanguinary horror, that it was reprobated even by men who had long been insensible to the feelings of humanity. The usurper, after the rout of his army, fled to Bona, a town in Algiers, bordering on the kingdom of Tunis.

The slaughter which followed, upon the Spaniards entering the city, could scarcely be prevented by any interposing authority, when such rancorous hatred subsisted between the contending parties: beside those who were actually found in arms, who could obtain no quarter, 30,000 of the peaceable inhabitants are said to have fallen by the sword, and 10,000 to have been carried away into slavery.

Immediately upon this speedy conquest of the kingdom of Tunis, the emperor invested Muley-

Haseen with the kingly authority, entering into a treaty with him to hold the kingdom in fee of the court of Spain; to do homage to the emperor; that he should set at liberty all Christian slaves of whatever nation; and that the Goletta fort should be garrisoned with Spanish troops, for whose support 12,000 crowns should be annually paid by the king of Tunis. The emperor was extolled for thus placing the Mahomedan prince on the throne of Tunis; but he certainly merited little on the score of generosity, as he retained to himself every advantage which prudent policy might lead him to covet; and the prince whom he advanced to the mere pageantry of royalty, was, from his weakness, as from his worthlessness, alike unfit to govern.

Two years after this conquest was made, Francis I. concluded a treaty with Solymán the Magnificent; and Barbarossa, with a powerful fleet, ravaged the coasts of Italy, until he was obliged to retire on the appearance of Dorea, the Venetian admiral, with a superior force. In the year 1543 he again appeared off the coasts of Italy with a fleet of 110 gallies, and made a descent at Rheggio, which he plundered and burnt; afterward receiving on board a body of French troops, he proceeded to Nice, but this disgraceful confederacy proved unsuccessful; no impression could be made, and Dorea soon after appearing, Barbarossa was compelled to retire. The next year, Francis finding how odious such an alliance rendered him to all christendom, dismissed

Barbarossa. From this time nothing farther is known concerning him, and he must then have been advanced in years.

After Hayradin Barbarossa had conquered the kingdom of Tunis, the government of Algiers was committed to Haseen Aga, a renegado eunuch, who had highly distinguished himself for his boldness and activity. The resort of fugitives from Tunis, after the Spanish conquest, gave to Haseen a great increase of strength, so that the depredations committed on the Spanish trade and coasts were little abated by the suppression of one pyratival state. These insults were endured by the emperor, who was ever in a state of warfare, for six years; but, in 1541, he determined to make all other concerns subservient to his designs upon Algiers. His force, as in the former expedition, was collected at Cagliari, and consisting of 20,000 foot and 2,500 horse, which was composed of Spaniards, Italians, and Germans, in addition to which 3,000 volunteers, an hundred knights of Malta, and 2,000 soldiers from that island, embarked. Doria again commanded the fleet. The expedition sat out very inauspiciously: Doria remonstrated against its being undertaken at so late a season of the year, on account of the tempestuous weather which was likely to be encountered, and the pope strongly urged the propriety of choosing a more favourable season; but neither the great skill of the one, nor the veneration attached to the other, could shake the fixed purpose of the emperor.

peror. After having been much buffeted by tempests, the army made good its landing. Every thing then seemed to promise a speedy and entire conquest, but Haseen, who had retreated into the city with his comparatively small force, shewed no disposition to submit. On the second day after the troops were landed, a tremendous tempest arose toward evening, and the troops were exposed to its utmost violence during the whole night; the ground was rendered swampy, and no longer afforded solid footing, whilst cold, rain, and wind attacked them with united force. Early in the morning Haseen led out his whole force, consisting of no more than 800 Turks and 5,000 Moors, against these dispirited and almost defenceless invaders; for their fire-arms were rendered useless, and their limbs were so benumbed that they could scarcely avail themselves of any other kind of weapon, consequently much loss was sustained before the attack could be repelled, which was no sooner effected, than the deplorable condition of the fleet became manifest; 15 ships of war and 140 transports were lost, on board of which 8,000 men perished, and such as reached the shore were killed by the natives. It was not until the day following that intelligence of the existence of any part of the fleet reached the army, then, a dispatch from Doria conveyed intelligence, that he had brought the shattered remains of the fleet into a bay considerably to the westward; thither, however, the enfeebled and famished army were under

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der the necessity of marching; their sufferings were extreme; many perished with hunger, many in the swollen streams they were obliged to pass over, and many by the swords of their pursuers. The emperor sustained this heavy stroke of adversity with true magnanimity of spirit; his assiduities were unremitting; he patiently submitted to every suffering; and bravely opposed himself to every danger. A short calm afforded an opportunity for the troops to embark, but then a storm arose which separated the enfeebled fleet, and each ship sought its own safety in the first friendly port it could reach. In this forlorn condition the mighty monarch Charles V. who beside Mexico, had just then added Peru to his vast empire, after some weeks, again sat foot in Spain, severely instructed in the vanity of human greatness.

It does not appear that Tunis was long held by the Spaniards, and the kingly title became suppressed both in that kingdom and in Algiers, the supreme authority being vested in the dey, and the form of government may be described as a military aristocracy; but all the piratical states continued to be parts of the Turkish empire, and a yearly subsidy was paid to the Porte for more than two centuries: it being so lately as the year 1767 that they threw off that subjection. Algiers first renounced this allegiance and dependence, by not only refusing, in unqualified terms, to pay the arrears of tribute due to the grand signior, but avowed their determination not to admit any such demand in future.

The city of Algiers has at different periods re-

ceived several hostile visits from the English. About the year 1620 Sir Robert Mansel was sent out from England with six men of war and twelve stout ships hired from the merchants. He arrived at Algiers, but neither negotiation nor force procured any substantial redress. Two other fleets were afterward sent against them, one under lord Willoughby, the other under lord Denbigh, both of which did so little, that very few of our historians take any notice of them. The renowned Blake, in the year 1655, being in the Mediterranean, proceeded to Algiers, to demand satisfaction for the piracies committed on the English, and the release of all captives belonging to his nation. The dey expressed the most friendly disposition, and promised every redress in his power. From Algiers he sailed to Tunis, where meeting with a less civil reception, he attacked the goletta, and reduced it to a defenceless condition; after which, he burnt nine ships which lay in the road; this so terrified the inhabitants that they implored his mercy and sued for peace. He then sailed to Tripoli, where the terror of his name having preceded him, he concluded an advantageous peace with that government. In the year 1661 the earl of Sandwich was sent against Algiers to menace the dey for his infraction of the treaty which he had entered into with Blake. Not being able to obtain any concessions, he made an ineffectual attempt to set fire to the ships in the harbour, but leaving Sir John Lawson with a strong squadron to cruise off the port, so many of their ships were taken that they were at last compelled

pelled to enter into a treaty; which, however, like the former one, was not long observed. In the year 1669, a squadron commanded by Sir Thomas Allen, in conjunction with one from the states of Holland commanded by Van Ghent, sunk and destroyed many ships belonging to these pirates, and rescued a considerable number of Christian slaves. The next year Sir Edward Spragge was sent with a larger force on the same service, when he so effectually annoyed their shipping, that the Algerines, rendered desperate by their losses, rose, murdered their dey, and elected another, by whom a peace was concluded to the satisfaction of the English, which they observed better than the former ones. In the year 1749, the Prince Frederick packet-boat, bound from Lisbon to Falmouth, was taken by four Algerine cruisers, carried into Algiers, and plundered of effects to the amount of 25,000 pounds; and after being detained twenty-three days was suffered to depart. This outrage occasioned commodore Keppel (late lord Keppel) to be sent out with seven ships of war. He took on board certain presents for the dey, the forwarding of which had been neglected, and which that prince having been long accustomed to receive, laid claim to by prescription. Mr. Keppel arrived there in August, and had an audience of the dey, but could not obtain a restitution of the property.

In the year 1769 the emperor of Morocco besieged and took the city of Mazagan, from the Portuguese,

and that same year entered into treaties with the courts of Spain and Portugal. In 1774 he entered into a league with the Algerines, to dispossess the Christian powers of the settlements held by them on the coasts of Africa, which caused the court of Madrid to declare war against him. Melilla and Penon de Veloz; places which the Spaniards hold on the coast of Morocco, were besieged by the emperor; but being bravely defended, they successfully resisted his attacks. At the commencement of the following year, the emperor declared war against the states-general of the United Provinces. The Dutch endeavoured to purchase the restoration of peace by sending presents to this prince, but in vain; the presents were accepted, but hostilities were not suspended. An accommodation afterward took place.

The Morocco prince, having failed in his attempts to possess himself of the Spanish forts, sent an embassy to Spain to treat of peace; but the court of Madrid prescribed, as the conditions, that the emperor should pay four millions of dollars for the expences of the war; should yield a tract of country round each of the fortifications which were held by the Spaniards on his coast; and surrender to Spain the port of Tetuan and the island of Magador. Such humiliating conditions, dictated whilst a formidable fleet was preparing to attack Algiers, were rejected with disdain by the Moorish prince, when the design upon that neighbouring state proved abortive;

abortive: acts of hostility were afterward carried on at sea by the ships of the two powers for a considerable time.

In 1775, the king of Spain caused a formidable armament to be prepared, in order to chastise the Algerines for the depredations which their corsairs had committed on his subjects. The fleet destined for this expedition was fitted out at the ports of Cartagena, Cadiz, and Barcelona; at the former of which the whole force assembled, and thence, after being detained a month by contrary winds, sailed against Algiers, arriving in the bay the latter end of June. The fleet consisted of seven ships of the line of 74 guns each, eight ships of 40 guns, thirty-two frigates from 20 to 36 guns, and about twenty smaller armed vessels of different constructions, with 400 transports, having 19,000 seamen and marines: on board the transports were 22,000 foot, and 4,000 horse, consisting of the best troops in Spain, an artillery of 400 pieces of cannon, with 2,000 men to work the guns. This formidable fleet and army were provided with vast quantities of stores and provisions. The marine was under the command of Don Pedro Castegon, and the land forces under count O'Reilly, a native of Ireland, who had been long in the service of Spain, and enjoyed the particular favour of the sovereign. Such a force seemed to menace the reduction of all the piratical states of Barbary. Eight days elapsed before the troops were landed, and the attack was then made

made in a desultory and injudicious manner; no regular design or plan of operations appeared to have been settled between the general and admiral, but great dissension and animosity prevailed. The deeply-rooted antipathy which subsists between the Spaniards and Moors caused each to be eager for action; but the first attack was made upon very unequal terms: whilst the Spaniards advanced through a close country, exposed to the full effect of the enemies fire, the Moors lay protected behind trees and enclosures, from which no efforts could dislodge them. This destructive conflict was maintained for thirteen hours: at length the Spaniards became dispirited, and a precipitate retreat ensued. Great numbers of wounded were left on the field of battle to satiate the vengeance of their barbarous enemies, who put all to death without mercy that fell into their hands. As soon as it was dark, the Spanish army re-embarked in such confusion, that had they been opposed by a skilful enemy, very few would have regained the ships, and the most entire defeat would have ensued: but the unskilfulness of the Algerines in military operations prevented them from improving the opportunity. The disgrace and loss which had befallen the Spanish arms in this attack, had effectually cooled their military ardour; and all thoughts of any farther attempts to retrieve the honour of the nation, and effectuate the purposes of the expedition, were laid aside. In four days after, a great part of the fleet, with all the land forces, sailed back

back to Spain. The misconduct and disgrace attending this expedition was generally imputed to the Count de O'Reilly: the loss sustained in it, as given by authority, amounted to twenty-seven officers killed, one hundred and ninety-one wounded; five hundred and one men killed, two thousand and eighty-eight wounded; but private computations estimated the loss at about five thousand. *Dalrymple's Travels*, p. 177.

In the year 1784 another expedition was set on foot, by the court of Madrid, against this place; the chief command of which was entrusted to admiral Don Antonio Barcelo. Eight successive attacks were made, with great spirit and bravery, on the forts which defend the entrance of the harbour; but they were repelled with equal intrepidity by the Algerines. Some parts of the city were set on fire, but the injuries which the Spanish fleet sustained were much greater than the annoyance which it gave the enemy; and the attempt to destroy Algiers was in the result found to be impracticable.

The Venetians, in the year 1785, sent out a fleet under the command of the chevalier Emo, against the city of Tunis, which greatly annoyed that capital, and hostilities are still continued.

The commerce of the American states has suffered very considerably from the captures made by these corsairs, particularly those ships which visit the Mediterranean; and the Portuguese having very lately concluded a treaty with the Algerines, their
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men of war, which constantly cruised about the gut of Gibraltar, for the purpose of preventing the Algerine corsairs from sailing out of the Mediterranean, were withdrawn: those pirates, therefore, now proceed into the Atlantic, in search of American vessels, and have actually captured several.

"These pirates," says the Abbé Raynal, "have reduced the greatest powers of Europe to the disgrace of making them annual presents, which, under whatever name they are disguised, are in fact a tribute. They have sometimes been punished and humbled, but their rapines have never been totally suppressed." *Hist. Pol. liv. xi.*

It is an object worthy the attention of all the powers of Europe, especially the maritime, to free themselves from the insolence of these rovers, that their subjects may thereby be protected in their persons and goods, from the hands of rapine and violence, their coasts secured from insults and descents, and their ships from capture on the sea. The conquest could not be attended with any great difficulty, if the English, Dutch, French, and Spaniards would unite to join their forces and fleets, and fall upon them in separate bodies, and in several places at the same time. The general benefit of commerce would immediately follow, by settling the government of the sea-coast towns in the hands and possession of the several united powers; so that every one should possess them, in proportion to the forces employed in the conquering them; the consequence of such

such success would soon be sensibly felt by the conquerors; for as the quantity of productions fitted for the use of merchandize is found to be considerable even now, under the indolence and sloth of the most barbarous people in the world, how much might all those valuable articles be supposed to increase by the industry and skilfulness of the diligent Europeans, especially the English, French, and Dutch? We might also reasonably suppose that the Moors, being in consequence of such a conquest driven into the interior country, and being obliged to seek their subsistence by honest labour and application, would at length be induced to increase the product, and, as multitudes of Christians would be encouraged by the advantages to be derived from the soil and climate to settle on the coasts, the manufactures and merchandize of Europe could not fail of finding a great additional consumption; the many new ports and harbours which those Christian nations might construct would be so many new markets for the sale of those manufactures, and the spirit of commerce would have an ample territory on which to expatiate.

The Abbé Raynal expresses himself with his usual spirit on this occasion. "To what people," says he, "is reserved the glory of breaking those fetters which Africa is thus insensibly preparing for us, and of removing those terrors which are so formidable to navigation? No nation can attempt it alone; perhaps, if it did, the jealousy of the rest would throw secret obstacles in its way. This must therefore be the work of a general combination. All the maritime

Prime powers ought to concur in the execution of a design in which all are equally interested. These states, which every thing invites to mutual alliance, good-will, and defence, ought to be weary of the calamities which they reciprocally bring upon each other. After having so frequently formed leagues for their mutual destruction, let them at length take up arms for their general security: war would then, for once at least, become beneficial and just; and one may venture to assert that such a war would be of no long continuance, if it were conducted with skill and unanimity. Perhaps this most noble and the greatest of enterprizes, would cost Europe less blood and treasure than the most trivial of those quarrels with which it is continually agitated. The jealousy of the great maritime powers, who have constantly rejected all expedients for securing the navigation of Europe from the depredations of freebooters, hath been the chief cause of its continuance. The hope of checking the industry of every weak state, hath accustomed them to wish, that these piracies of Barbary should continue, and hath even induced them to abet the plunderers. This is an enormity, the ignominy of which they would never have incurred if their discernment had been equal to their rapacity. All Christendom would certainly profit by this happy change, but the greatest advantages must infallibly accrue to the maritime states, in proportion to their power. Their situation, the safety of their navigation, the greatness of their capitals, and various other advantages

advantages which they possess, would secure them such superiority. "However," adds that humane philosopher, "if the reduction and subjection of Barbary would not become a source of happiness to those people as well as to ourselves; if we must keep up and perpetuate slavery and poverty amongst them; if fanaticism can still renew those detestable crusades, which philosophy, too late, has consigned to the indignation of all ages; if Africa must at length become the scene of our cruelties as Asia and America have been, and still are, may the project which humanity hath dictated be buried in perpetual oblivion! It is indifferent whether they be Christians or Mussulmans who suffer: man is the only object worthy to interest man." *Hist. Pol.* liv. xi.

CHAP. XI.

The discovery of the WEST INDIES.

MANKIND owe the discovery of the western world to the gold, the silver, the precious stones, the spices, silks, and costly manufactures, of the East; and even these incentives were, for a considerable time, insufficient to prompt to the undertaking, although the most skilful navigator of the age proffered to risk his life in the attempt.

That wonderful property communicated to the needle by the loadstone, which constitutes its polarity, had been discovered about an hundred and seventy years before any navigator was found hardy enough to cross the equinoxial line, and the Portuguese were the first to achieve it. The property of the *loadstone* or *magnet*, to attract iron, was well known to the ancients, and appears to have excited their astonishment. Cicero speaks of it as such an incredible fact, as ~~could not~~ be believed if it was not demonstrably proved, (*de Divinatione, lib. i. sect. 39.*) Lucretius likewise speaks of this wonderful magnetic quality; and Pliny, the naturalist, employs a whole
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chapter on this stone, called by the ancients *magnet*, which chapter he introduces by saying, "what can be more wonderful! or in what part of Nature is there any thing more improbable!" *Hist. Nat. lib. xxxvi. cap. 16.* But to what an height would the wonder of the ancients have been raised, could they have had the foreknowledge, that, in future times, another property should be found in this operative substance, by which an instrument would be obtained capable of directing daring mortals, through oceans of an inconceivable extent, and of giving them access to every part of the globe! "The compass," to adopt the words of an able writer, "may be said to have opened to man the dominion of the sea, and to have put him in full possession of the earth, by enabling him to visit every part of it. Flavio Gioia, a citizen of Amalfi, a town of considerable trade in the kingdom of Naples, was the author of this great discovery, about the year 1302. It hath often been the fate of those illustrious benefactors of mankind, who have enriched science and improved the arts by their inventions, to derive more reputation than benefit from the happy efforts of their genius: but the lot of Gioia has been still more cruel: through the inattention or ignorance of contemporary historians, he has been defrauded even of the fame to which he had such a just title. We receive from them no information with respect to his profession, his character, the precise time when he made this important discovery, and the accidents and inquiries which led to it: the knowledge of

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this event, though productive of greater effects than any recorded in the annals of the human race, is transmitted to us without any of those circumstances which can gratify the curiosity which it naturally awakened." *Robertson's History of America*, i. 36. *Collenas & Trombellus de Acus nauticæ Inventore, Institut. Acad. Bonon, tom. ii. pars iii. p. 372.*

Christopher Columbus, who was destined to the high honour of revealing a new hemisphere to Europeans, was by birth a Genoese, who had been early trained to a seafaring life, and, having acquired every branch of knowledge connected with that profession, was no less distinguished by his skill and abilities, than for his intrepid and persevering spirit. This man, when about forty years of age, had formed the great idea of reaching the East Indies by sailing westward; but, as his fortune was very small, and the attempt required very effectual patronage, desirous that his native country should profit by his success, he laid his plan before the senate of Genoa, but the scheme, appearing chimerical, it was rejected. He then repaired to the court of Portugal; and although the Portuguese were at that time distinguished for their commercial spirit, and John II. who then reigned, was a discerning and enterprising prince, yet the prepossessions of the great men in his court, to whom the matter was referred, caused Columbus finally to fail in his attempt there also. He next applied to Ferdinand and Isabella, king and queen of Arragon and Castile, and at the same time sent his brother Bartho-

Bartholomew (who followed the same profession, and who was well qualified to fill the immediate place under such a leader) to England, to lay the proposal before Henry VII. which likewise, very fortunately for the future well being of the country, met with no success. Many were the years which Christopher Columbus spent upon ineffectual attendance at the Castilian court; the impoverished state into which the finances of the united kingdoms were reduced, by the war with Granada, repressing every disposition to attempt great designs; but the war being at length terminated, the powerful mind of Isabella broke through all obstacles; she declared herself the patroness of Columbus, whilst her husband Ferdinand, declining to partake as an adventurer in the voyage, only gave it the sanction of his name. Thus did the superior genius of a woman effect the discovery of one half of the globe!

The ships sent out on this important search were only three in number, two of them very small: they had ninety men on board. Although the expense of the expedition had long remained the sole obstacle to its being undertaken, yet, when every thing was provided, the cost did not amount to more than 4000*l.* and there were provisions for twelve months put on board.

Columbus set sail from port Palos, in the province of Andalusia, on the 3d of August 1492: he proceeded to the Canary islands, and thence directed his course due W. in the latitude of about twenty-

Eight degrees N. In this course he continued for two months, without falling in with any land; which caused such a spirit of discontent and mutiny to arise among his seamen, as the superior address and management of the commander became unequal to repress, although for these qualities he was eminently distinguished. At length he was reduced to the necessity of entering into a solemn engagement to abandon the enterprise, and return home, if land did not appear in three days. Probably he would not have been able to restrain his people so long from acts of violence and outrage, in pursuing so untried and dreary a course, had they not been sensible that their safety in returning home, depended very much on his skill as a navigator in conducting the vessels.

Columbus put little to the hazard by this stipulation, for unquestionable indications of land being near had appeared: flocks of land-birds, which were incapable of stretching far out to sea, were seen; branches of trees, and canes newly cut, were taken up, with a piece of carved timber; and to confirm this hope, the ships were come into soundings.

At length the appearance of land changed their despondency to the most exulting rapture. It was an island abounding with inhabitants, both sexes of which were quite naked; their manners kind, gentle, and unsuspecting. Columbus named it San Salvador; it is one of the cluster which bears the general name of Bahama; it was only three degrees, thirty minutes.

minutes latitude to the S. of the island of Gomera, one of the Canaries from which he took his departure. This navigator was still so confirmed in the opinion which he had formed before he undertook the voyage, that he believed himself to be then upon an island which was situated adjacent to the Indies. Proceeding to the S. he saw three other islands, which he named St. Mary of the Conception, Ferdinandina, and Isabella. At length he arrived at a very large island, and as he had taken seven of the natives of San Salvador on board, he learned from them that it was called Cuba, but he gave it the name of Juanna. He next proceeded to an island which he called Espagnola, in honour of the kingdom by which he was employed, and it still bears the name of Hispaniola. Here he built a fort and formed a small settlement. He then returned home, having on board some of the natives, whom he had taken from the different islands: steering a more southern course, he fell in with some of the Caribbee islands; and arrived at the port of Palos on the 15th March 1493, having been seven months eleven days on this most important voyage.

On his arrival, letters patent were issued by the king and queen confirming to Columbus and to his heirs all the privileges contained in a capitulation which had been executed before his departure, and his family was ennobled.

Not only the Spaniards, but the other nations

of Europe, seem to have adopted the opinion of Columbus, in considering the countries which he had discovered as a part of India. Whence Ferdinand and Isabella gave them the name of "Indies," in the ratification of their former agreement with Columbus. Even after the error was detected, the name was retained, and the appellation of "West Indies" is now given by all Europe to this country, and that of Indians to the inhabitants. That the East Indies might be reached by a western course was proved not long after by Magellan; the only error, therefore imputable to Columbus, is his supposing them so near to Europe, in that direction, which implies that he had no accurate idea of the circumference of the globe; as such an opinion was founded on its spherical form. It is indeed remarkable, how many of the conjectures which have been made, and opinions formed, by the most intelligent and enlightened of mankind, in all ages, respecting the globe, have been found to be erroneous when experiment has substituted fact for opinion. A striking instance is in the supposed existence of a *terra australis incognita*, which, when investigated by Captain Cook, vanished like the baseless fabric of a vision. The opinion of a northern passage to the East Indies, whether by an eastern, or a western course, ~~was not less believed, and is now, no less confuted;~~ for although it seems highly probable that no land lies in the high northern latitudes, yet a barrier, equally

equally impenetrable, is formed by the immense expanse of ice which ever occupies the polar regions: but to return.

Nothing could possibly tend more effectually to rouse every active principle in human nature, than the discoveries which Columbus had made; no time was therefore lost, nor expence spared, in preparing a fleet of ships, with which this great man should revisit the countries he had made known. Seventeen ships were got ready in six months, and fifteen hundred persons embarked on board them, among whom were many of noble families, and who had filled honourable stations. These engaged in the enterprise from the expectation that the new discovered country was either the Cipango of Marco Paulo, now known to be the island of Japan, or the Ophir, from which Solomon obtained his gold and precious merchandize.

Ferdinand, now desirous of securing what before he had been unwilling to venture for the obtaining, applied to the pope to be invested with a right in these new-discovered countries, as well as to all future discoveries in that direction; but as it was necessary that there should be some favour of religion in the business, he founded his plea on a desire of converting the savage natives to the Romish faith. Alexander VI. who then filled the papal chair, it ought to be premised, was the most profligate and abandoned of men: being a native of Arragon, and desirous of conciliating the favour of Ferdinand, for

the purpose of aggrandizing his family, he readily granted a request which, at no expence or risk, tended to extend the consequence and authority of the papacy: he therefore bestowed on Ferdinand and Isabella “all the countries inhabited by infidels, which they had discovered, or should discover;” but as it was necessary to prevent this grant from interfering with one not long before made to the crown of Portugal, he appointed that a line, supposed to be drawn from pole to pole, one hundred leagues to the westward of the Azores, should serve as a limit between them; and in the plenitude of his power, conferred all to the E. of this imaginary line upon the Portuguese, and all to the W. of it upon the Spaniards.

Columbus set sail on his second voyage from the port of Cadiz, on the 25th of September 1493; when he arrived at Espagniola, he had the affliction to find that all the Spaniards whom he had left there, amounting to thirty-six in number, had been put to death by the natives, in revenge for the insults and outrages which they had committed upon them.

After having traced out the plan of a town, to be built in a large plain, near a spacious bay, and given it the name of Isabella, in honour of his patroness the queen of Castile, and appointed his brother, Don Diego, to preside as deputy governor in his absence, Columbus, on the 24th of April 1494, sailed, with one ship and two small barks, to make farther discoveries in those seas. In this voyage he was employed

played five months, and fell in with many small islands on the coast of Cuba, but with nothing of any importance except the island of Jamaica.

Soon after his return to Hispaniola, he resolved to make war upon the Indians, who, according to the Spanish historians, amounted to 100,000 men; these having experienced every lawless act of violence from their invaders, were rendered extremely inveterate, and thirsted for revenge; a disposition which appears to have been foreign to their natures. Having collected his full force, he attacked them by night, whilst they were assembled in a wide plain, and obtained a most decisive victory, without the loss of one man on his part. Beside the effect of cannon and fire arms, the noise of which was appalling, and their effect, against a numerous body of Indians, closely drawn together, in the highest degree destructive, Columbus had brought over with him a small body of cavalry. The Indians, who had never before seen such a creature, imagined the Spanish horses to be rational beings, and that each with its rider formed but one animal: they were astonished at their speed, and considered their impetuosity and strength as irresistible. In this onset they had beside another formidable enemy to terrify and destroy them: a great number of the largest and fiercest species of dogs which were then bred in Europe, had been brought hither; which, set on by their masters, rushed upon the Indians with the fierceness of savage beasts, and, wherever they came, the miserable natives

natives threw down their weapons, without attempting resistance, and fled with all the speed which terror could excite. Numbers were slain, and more made prisoners, who were indiscriminately consigned to slavery. Dr. Robertson says, upon the authority of a MS. in his possession, that five hundred of these captives were sent (or rather brought by Columbus) to Spain, and sold publicly in Seville as slaves. *History of America*, 4to. edition, vol. I. note xx, p. 440.

The character of Columbus stands very high in the estimation of mankind; he is venerated not only as a man possessing superior fortitude, and such a steady perseverance, as no impediments, dangers, or sufferings, could shake, but as equally distinguished for piety and virtue. His second son Ferdinand, who wrote the life of his father, apologizes for this severity toward the natives, on account of the distressed state into which the colony was brought: the change of climate, and the indispensable labours which were required of men unaccustomed to any exertions, had swept away great numbers of the new settlers, and the survivors were declining daily, whilst such was the irreconcilable enmity of the natives, that the most kind and circumspect conduct on the part of the Spaniards, would not have been effectual to regain their good will. This apology seems to have been generally admitted, for all modern writers have bestowed upon the discoverer of the new world the warmest commendation unmixed with censure. It is an unpleasant task to derogate from exalted merit,

merit, and to impute a deliberate plan of cruelty and extirpation to a man revered for moral worth; but although a pert affectation of novel opinions can only originate in weak minds, and can be countenanced only by such, yet a free and unreserved scrutiny into facts, can alone separate truth from error, and apportion the just and intrinsic degree of merit belonging to any character. That Columbus had formed a design of waging offensive war against the Indians, and reducing them to slavery, before he entered upon his second voyage, and consequently, before he was apprized of the destruction of the people which he had left upon the island of Hispaniola, may be inferred from his providing himself with such a number of fierce and powerful dogs. Having found the natives peaceable and well disposed, he had no reason to apprehend that they would commence unprovoked hostilities; the cavalry which he took over, whilst it tended to impress those people with the deepest awe and veneration, was fully sufficient for the security of the new colony, if the friendship of the natives had been sincerely meant to be cultivated by a kind and equitable deportment; but to treat them as a free people was inconsistent with the views which led to planting a colony, for as the grand incentive to undertake these distant voyages was the hope of acquiring gold, so, as Columbus had seen some worn as ornaments by the natives, and had been informed that the mountainous parts of the country yielded that precious metal, he had excited expectations

tions in his employers, and in the nation at large, which both his interest and ambition compelled him as far as possible to realize: the Spaniards could not obtain gold without the assistance of the natives, and these were so constitutionally indolent that no allurements of presents or gratifications could excite them to labour. To rescue himself therefore from disgrace, and to secure future support, he seems deliberately to have devoted a harmless race of men to slaughter or slavery. Such as survived the massacre of that dreadful day, and preserved their freedom, fled into the mountainous and inaccessible parts of the island, which not yielding them sufficient means of subsistence, they were compelled to obtain a portion of food from their cruel pursuers, by procuring gold dust, in order to support life; a tribute being imposed upon them which was rigorously exacted. These wretched remains of a free people, thus driven from fruitfulness and amenity; compelled to labour for the support of life; a prey to despondency, which the recollection of their former happiness sharpened, and which their hopeless situation rendered insupportable, died in great numbers, the innocent, but unrevengeed victims to European avarice. Such are the facts which have ever been admitted, yet, strange contradiction! Columbus is celebrated for his humanity and goodness! but should he not rather be considered as a most consummate dissembler; professing moderation whilst he meditated subversion? and, like most of the heroes and conquerors whom history

tory records, renouncing every principle of justice and humanity when they stopped the career of his ambition? Ferdinand Columbus, his son and biographer, has with great address covered the shame of his father, whilst the admiring world has been little disposed to censure a man, the splendour of whose actions so powerfully fascinates and dazzles.

When Columbus returned to Spain from his second voyage, he found that his enemies had been very active and successful in impressing Ferdinand and Isabella with unfavourable sentiments of his conduct; but he so far recovered his credit, that a squadron of six ships was fitted out, with which he proceeded on a third voyage, on the 30th of May 1498. Taking a more southern course, he discovered the island of Trinidad, on the coast of Guiana, near the mouth of the great river Orinoko. The swell occasioned by this vast river pouring its waters into the ocean was so great, as to expose the ships to extreme danger, but after long combating the currents and tremendous waves with doubtful success, he conducted his squadron safe through a narrow strait, which separates that island from the continent; this he called, "Bocca del Drago," the dragon's mouth. He justly concluded, that such a vast body of water must flow through a country of immense extent, and that he was now arrived at that continent which it had long been the object of his wishes to discover. Full of that idea he stood to the West, along the coast of those provinces now known
by

the names of Paria and Comana. He landed in several places, and had some intercourse with the natives, who resembled those of Hispaniola in their appearance and manner of life. "Thus," says Dr. Robertson, "Columbus had not only the glory of discovering to mankind the existence of a new world, but made considerable progress toward a perfect knowledge of it, and was the first man who conducted the Spaniards to that vast continent, which has been the chief seat of their empire, and the source of their treasures in that quarter of the globe."

History of America, I. p. 140.

He afterward directed his course to Hispaniola, and on quitting the continental coast fell in with the small island of Cubagua, and the larger one called Margarita, not far distant: these afterward became remarkable for their pearl fishery.

The enemies of Columbus having at length destroyed all his credit with Ferdinand and Isabella, Francis de Boyadilla, a knight of Calatravia, was appointed to repair to Hispaniola, with full powers to inquire into his conduct. This commission Bovadilla exercised in the most arbitrary and severe manner; for, without having recourse even to the form of a judicial inquiry, he divested Columbus of all authority, and, putting him in chains, sent him a prisoner to Spain: but the authority thus exercised was not long held; Bovadilla was superseded, and the government given to Ovando, who, however, proved in the sequel to be but little less inimical

mical to Columbus. Although this violent conduct was not approved by the king and queen, who endeavoured, by outward marks of attention and respect, to wipe off the ignominy which had been cast upon the discoverer of America, yet it is probable he would never have prevailed upon them to assist him in undertaking a fourth voyage, had it not been for the discovery made by the Portuguese, of sailing to the East Indies by doubling the Cape of Good Hope; but as it had ever been his firm belief, that the country which he had discovered was not far from the East Indies, and that there was a more direct way thither, by the route which he had struck out, he prevailed upon his noble patrons to assist him in ascertaining this important point: he had, however, only four small barks assigned him; the largest not more than seventy tons burden. In this expedition he was accompanied by his brother Don Bartholomew, and his second son Don Ferdinand, who afterward wrote his life.

He sailed from Cadiz on the 9th of May 1502, but without being invested with any authority in the country which he had discovered. When he arrived at Hispaniola, he found Ovando little inclined to afford him assistance; he therefore soon quitted that island, and steering toward the continent, explored all the coast from Cape Gracias a Dios southward, until he arrived at a harbour, which, on account of its beauty and security, he called Porto Bello. Whilst thus coasting he went ashore at several places, and sometimes

Sometimes proceeded up the country, but did not penetrate so far as to cross the isthmus which separates the Atlantic from the Pacific Ocean. It was his design to have settled a colony to the W. of Porto Bello; but this scheme was so much disrelished by his people that he could not effect it, and he was therefore deprived of the glory of planting the first colony on the continent of America. He afterward suffered many hardships, chiefly from the neglect of Ovando, and soon after his return to Spain his great patroness Isabella, queen of Castile, died; but this most able navigator did not long survive her, he dying at Valladolid, on the 20th of May 1508, in the fifty-ninth year of his age.

CHAP. XII.

The CONQUEST of MEXICO.

THE important discoveries which had been made by Columbus, excited in the Spaniards a restless spirit of enterprise. Ferdinand alone imbibed no portion of that ardour which inspired his subjects; therefore, instead of prosecuting discoveries at his own expence, he chose rather to grant his license to private adventurers, who were willing to embark their fortunes in such pursuits. In the year 1499, some merchants of Seville entered into a partnership with Alonso Ojeda, who had accompanied Columbus on his second voyage, to undertake discoveries and traffic with the natives, in that part of the southern continent, which Columbus had coasted, and in some parts had landed upon. They obtained the royal license for this undertaking, and Fonseca, bishop of Badajos, who was president of the council of India, patronized the scheme, and furnished the commander with the journal which Columbus had made, during his voyage to those parts, together with his charts.

The second in command was Americus Vesputius, a Florentine; well born, of good abilities, and considerable maritime knowledge, although entirely inexperienced in the new navigation. They proceeded to the coast of Paria, and sailed westward to Cape de Vela. Little advantage was derived to the adventurers by this undertaking, and no new country traced; but Americus Vesputius drew up a narrative of the voyage in so entertaining a manner, that the novelty of the subject caused it to be universally read: new productions of nature, new animals, and a new race of men were brought into notice. His assuming consequence was so artfully managed that the world was led to consider him as the discoverer of that continent, part of which he had described: thus was the unquestionable right of the Genoese navigator superseded by the artful, unfounded pretensions of the Florentine; and although utterly unmerited, procured him immortality; by causing the whole continent, extending through all climates, and over more than an hundred degrees of latitude, to obtain the name of AMERICA. Columbus was absent on his fourth voyage, when Americus thus artfully supplanted him, but he lived seven years after; so that he had the mortification to see the imposture succeed in giving name to a country, which ought unquestionably to have born that of COLUMBIA. But the persecutions and indignities which he suffered in his latter years; the personal indignities which he received, and the arbitrary refusal of Ferdinand and his

his ministers to invest him with those powers and privileges, which, by the original contract he had a right to claim, so occupied his attention, and harassed his mind, that he could scarcely extend his views so thus immortalizing his name.

Ojeda and Americus Vesputius soon after made a second voyage, in which they proceeded more to the westward; but the talents of Americus appear to have been better fitted to impose upon mankind than to effect great matters, or even to acquire wealth; for that voyage, like the former, proved unprofitable; whilst Alonso Nino, another navigator trained under Columbus, about the same time, made a very lucrative voyage to the coast of Paria.

Ojeda, not discouraged by two unprofitable voyages, entered on a third, having been appointed by Ferdinand, governor of the continental country from Cape Gracias a Dios to Cape Vela. On this enterprise Americus did not embark. Diego de Nicuesa, who had acquired a large fortune at Hispaniola, obtained, at the same time, the appointment of governor of all the country from Cape de Vela to the Gulf of Darien.

Ojeda and his party took possession of the country in the most hostile manner. This outrage was rendered the more execrable by the pretext of religion, with which it was sanctioned. To a race of men with whom there was no common medium of language, Ojeda delivered a formal declaration, announcing to them the universal power of the Pope

over all the world, and requiring them to believe every thing which he prescribed. In order to give them title to those countries some appearance of validity, several of the most eminent divines and lawyers in Spain were employed to prescribe the mode in which they should take possession of them. "There is not in the history of mankind," says Dr. Robertson, "any thing more singular or extravagant than the form which they devised for this purpose." *Hist. of America*, I. 272. 8vo Ed. He likewise gives the form employed on this occasion; which, he says, served as a model to the Spaniards in all their subsequent conquests of America. See the same volume, p. 382. The people of that country, however, possessed the means of resisting such papal and regal impositions; they were expert in the use of missile weapons; the points of their arrows were steeped in a strongly envenomed poison. More than seventy of Ojeda's followers were slain in one attack; and the reception which Nicuesa met with was equally unfavourable. At length a feeble settlement was formed at Santa Maria, near the gulf of Darien, under the command of Vasco Nugnes de Balboa. This man appears to have blended more humanity with the spirit of enterprise in his conduct, than any other Spaniard in the course of these inhuman proceedings. He treated the natives of the country in general, the casiques, or princes, in particular, with kindness and liberality; and he gained his recompense; for they informed him
of

of a rich country to the south-east, and of a vast body of water beyond it.

In the year 1513, Balboa set out on this important expedition, attended by 190 men, and a dozen Indians, who served as guides. With immense labour and perseverance he travelled over the mountains, thickly covered with wood, for twenty-five days, when he arrived in sight of a mountain, which the Indians, who were his guides, assured him would, on its summit, bring to view a great sea. Thus stimulated, all difficulties were surmounted, and the whole party had ascended nearly to the top, when Balboa called to halt, and proceeding alone to the utmost height, was the first European who beheld that expansive body of water, now named "the Pacific Ocean." No sooner had he beheld that rapturous sight, than falling on his knees, and lifting up his hands and eyes to heaven, he returned thanks to God, who had conducted him to a discovery so beneficial to his country, and so honourable to himself. These strong sensations gratified, he descended to the shore, and took possession of the vast deep in the name of the king his master. The spot on which this discovery was thus made, is now called "the gulf of St. Michael, or Miguel."

Columbus entertained a fixed opinion that a great sea lay to the westward of the newly discovered continent, by means of which the East Indies might be reached; and he actually prevailed upon the cautious Ferdinand to send him out expressly to search for it.

He proceeded to the isthmus of Darien, and attempted to effect his purpose from Porto Bello; but not being able to obtain either information or assistance from the natives; finding the woods impenetrable, and the mountains inaccessible in the direction which he had taken; these insuperable obstacles compelled him to relinquish his design, although his opinion remained unshaken: and it was only six years after his death that it was proved to be just; and it then appeared that he had chosen the very spot, where the boundary between the two great oceans, the Atlantic and Pacific, was contracted to its narrowest limit.

The reduction of the extensive island of Cuba had been undertaken and effected by the Spaniards, from motives the most inhuman and iniquitous which could actuate human depravity, a short time before this excursion of Balboa's took place.

It appears that the natives of Hispaniola were nearly exterminated in the course of about eighteen years. When Columbus discovered Hispaniola, the number of inhabitants on that island, according to *Herreſſa, decad I. lib. x. c. 12.* was computed to be at least a million! In consequence of the want of slaves to work the mines, it was proposed to the principal Spaniards on the island, by the governor, to attempt the conquest of Cuba. This governor was Don Diego Columbus, second son of Christopher, who had obtained the government of that island, which was withheld from his father by the injustice

of Ferdinand; but his son, to whom, on the death of his father, the right devolved, was bold enough to bring his cause before the council which managed Indian affairs; which court, with a firm and impartial adherence to justice, decreed in favour of the claimant against the king. Nothing can more forcibly instance the delusions which beguile the human mind, and contract its views, so as to render it incapable of uniform and universal rectitude of conduct, than that the very men who composed the court in which justice was so duly rendered to Diego Columbus, should permit the violation of every principle of justice, which was systematically committed upon millions of the human race in another hemisphere.

Don Diego Velasquez commanded the troops for this service; he took with him no more three hundred men, which proved to be a sufficient force to effect the purpose. One casique only, who was named Hatuay, and who had fled from Hispaniola, opposed their landing; but his followers were dispersed and himself taken prisoner. The perverted notions of the Spaniards caused them to consider him as a slave who had taken arms against his masters, and condemned him to the flames. To aggravate the sufferings of the dying Indian, a Franciscan friar exhorted him to embrace the Romish faith and to receive baptism; assuring him that he would then be immediately admitted into the joys of heaven. Hatuay asked, with much earnestness, "if there

were any Spaniards there?" The friar replied, "that there were, but only such as were worthy and good." "There is no worth or goodness in the very best," replied the manly sufferer; "I will not go to a place, where I shall meet with one of that accursed race." So saying, he resigned himself to his fate. From the wretched natives of this island, the Spaniards on Hispaniola received fresh supplies of slaves. The Lucayos, or Bahama islands, had provided Hispaniola with 40,000 Indians, who had been trepanned from ease and independence on their native soil, by the infernal blandishments of the Spaniards; who represented to these unsuspected innocents, that they came from the country of delight where their departed ancestors resided, by whom they were sent, to invite their living posterity to participate in the joys of their renovated existence. Most pitiable of deluded beings! when the heart glowed with rapturous expectation, thus to be consigned to bondage, toil, stripes, and despair; to a state of mind which perhaps extinguished in them all expectation of

Some safer world in depth of woods embrac'd,

Some happier island in the watry waste;

Where slaves once more their native land behold,

No fiends torment, no Christians thirst for gold.

Porto Rico had been likewise invaded for the purpose of enslaving its inhabitants.

Had a party of lawless freebooters, such as the Buccaneers who succeeded, invaded these countries and

and attacked the natives, for the purpose of seizing upon all the gold and pearls which rapine could acquire, and making slaves of the people, all the world would have execrated the act, and absolved human nature from the infamy annexed to it, by pleading that the perpetrators were outcasts from society: but the Spaniards, who thus violated all laws divine and human, had among them men, in whose veins some of the noble blood of Spain flowed; not a few were Castilians, who valued themselves upon their good faith and inviolate honour: yet avarice extinguished every principle of humanity; and superstition, every just sense of religion. Such was the atrocity of their conduct, that they even made that sacred name the pretext of their outrageous enormities, whilst the papal and regal powers sanctioned the horrid profanation: but the apostolic holiness of Rome did not confine the perversion of his power to this flagrant instance in the new world, for, about the same time, a traffic was set on foot, or rather revived on a more extensive scale, which consisted in granting indulgences for all manner of sins, according to the enormity of which the price was rated. So confident was the papacy of its irresistible power over the human mind, that it dared to offer the grossest insult to common sense, and even decency, by putting darkness for light.

Although the treatment which the Indians received was, in conformity to this infallible head, disregarded by the dignitaries of the Romish church, yet the Dominican

Dominican monks settled at Hispaniola could not extinguish the feelings of humanity, or pervert their sacred function, but openly inveighed against the practice of enslaving the natives. Montefius, one of their most eloquent preachers, strongly reprobated it from the pulpit, and was supported by all the religious of his order: whilst the Franciscan monks, who were ever at variance with the Dominicans, palliated a practice, which they dared not avowedly to justify. Among the clergy on the island, another man arose, who possessing a heart glowing with humanity, became the zealous, the able, and the undaunted pleader and intercessor in behalf of the groaning Indians. The name of this exalted philanthropist was Las Casas, who finding all his endeavours fruitless on that island, embarked for Spain, solely for the purpose of laying before Ferdinand and the council for India the case of that devoted race of men. He gained an audience of the king, who, at that time, was in a very declining state of health. He pleaded the cause of humanity with all that freedom and force of eloquence which the strong feelings of his heart, and importance of the cause inspired. He even presumed to charge the king with being the cause of the misery and desolation which had overspread the new world, by authorizing the impious measure of subjecting the natives to slavery, when Providence had placed this numerous and inoffensive race of men under his protection. Ferdinand, who considered his death approaching, was much impressed with

with a sense of the impiety so directly imputed to him, which, in the insensibility attendant on health, would have been totally disregarded; he promised Las Casas, that he would pay serious attention to the cause of the poor Indians; but he died soon after. Las Casas then determined to apply to prince Charles of Austria, the successor of Ferdinand, who was in the Low Countries; but cardinal Ximenes, who governed as regent, so far attended to his representations, that measures were taken to render the treatment of the Indians less severe, and their condition less wretched. These palliatives, however, were far from contenting Las Casas; who insisted that the natives ought to obtain an entire emancipation: their indolence and incapacity, which were pleaded as requiring them to be held in a state of bondage, he maintained, might be more effectually removed by kindness, and equitable treatment; to exemplify which, he strenuously laboured to obtain a grant of a district of land, for the purpose of settling a colony on the continent of South America, which should be composed of husbandmen and mechanics from Spain; to strengthen and increase which, the natives should be invited to become incorporated, by holding out to them a common participation of benefits. At length he obtained a grant of country, extending three hundred miles, along the coast of Cumana; and he engaged, in the space of three years, to civilize ten thousand of the natives. Notwithstanding the great reputation which his benevolent exertions

had procured him, he could gain no patronage from the men of wealth and influence in Spain, and could procure him only two hundred labourers and artificers to embark with. The spot assigned having been previously visited by some Spaniards from the islands, who had treated the natives with their wonted barbarity, their resentment was so roused, that no professions of kindness and good-will could effect a reconciliation, so that the attempt to settle a colony in order to promote the general good of the whole, unhappily miscarried: but the practicability of the plan has since been proved by the settlement which the Jesuits made at Paraguay, where the Indians, by being instructed and employed, were formed into societies, and rendered devout, orderly, industrious, and happy.

While these things were transacting on the island of the West Indies, still more important discoveries were successfully attempted on the continent. Balboa, immediately upon his having ascertained the existence of the great Pacific Ocean, and having reached the confines of the extensive country, afterward known by the name of Peru, dispatched an account of these important acquisitions to Spain, with a requisition of a thousand men, to enable him to accomplish the conquest of the country.

This information arrived two years before the sickness and death of Ferdinand. The king, transported with the prospect of opening a lucrative commerce with the East, by a course westward of the line

line of demarkation drawn by pope Alexander VI. and by that means procuring a considerable portion of that lucrative trade which the Portuguese at that time monopolized, determined on prosecuting the measure pointed out by Balboa, but to deprive him of the merited glory and wealth which the execution of such a grand design would confer on the conductor: thus did ingratitude no less debase the cabinet than cruelty the progress of conquest. Fonseca, who was then bishop of Burgos, discovered, on this occasion, that strong antipathy to merit which ever marked his character. Through his patronage Pedrarias Davila was appointed governor of Darien, and sent out with fifteen ships and twelve hundred men; beside which, fifteen hundred persons eagerly presented themselves as volunteers.

When Pedrarius arrived at Darien, he found Balboa, of whom he had conceived the most exalted idea from the greatness of his exploits, employed in thatching a cottage, which he had constructed for his own residence, in which labour he was assisted by some Indians: he was clad in a canvas jacket, and had on his feet a pair of hempen sandals. Balboa suppressed his feelings on being thus superceded, and quietly submitted to the royal authority, so unjustly and cruelly exercised. Pedrarius not content with having divested Balboa of his command, brought him to trial, for having acted without a proper authority, and imposed upon him so heavy a fine, as nearly deprived him of his whole fortune.

Soon after the arrival of this large force, the rainy season set in; which spread disease among the unseasoned Europeans, whilst a great scarcity of provisions deprived them of necessary relief: the consequence was, that in the course of a month six hundred persons perished: thus were six hecatombs offered up to the manes of exterminated Indians!

The new adventurers who survived the baneful influence of the climate, penetrated into the country in quest of gold, and disdaining the example of mildness and conciliation which Balboa had set them, treated the natives with the utmost haughtiness and severity; their rapacity and cruelty receiving no check from the authority of the governor, all the country for a considerable extent inland was desolated.

The representations and remonstrances which Balboa sent to Spain conveyed such strong proofs of the destructive measures pursued by Pedrarias, that Ferdinand became sensible of the imprudent choice which he had made of a leader, and what justice could not effect, self-interest immediately brought about. Balboa was appointed lieutenant governor, or adelantado of the countries upon the South Sea, with very extensive powers, and Pedrarias was enjoined to support him. By the interposition of Quevels, bishop of Darien, a reconciliation took place between the governor and his lieutenant, and to testify the sincerity of his professions, Pedrarias gave his daughter in marriage to Balboa.

In

In the year 1517, four small brigantines were built, for the purpose of proceeding along the coast of the South Sea; three hundred chosen men were to set out on the expedition, but Pedrarias, jealous of the renown which his son-in-law was going to acquire, determined to sacrifice every thing to work the destruction of a man whose merits were to him insupportable. Under specious pretexts he drew him to Acla, and there causing him to be seized, brought him to trial, upon charges of disaffection to the king and evil designs against the governor; of these he was found guilty, received sentence to die, and was publicly executed soon after. The expedition, although fully prepared was then laid aside. Notwithstanding the misconduct and violent proceedings of Pedrarias, he found means to continue himself in power, chiefly from the strong support which he received from the bishop of Burgos; and he soon after obtained permission to remove the colony from Santa Martha to Panama, on the opposite side of the isthmus.

Early in the year 1517, a voyage to the Continent was undertaken from the island of Cuba, by Francisco Hermandes Cordova; he landed on the peninsula of Yucatan, where a casique received him with apparent kindness; but ~~some~~ Indians who lay in ambush, rushed upon his party; they were, however, intimidated by the fire-arms and cross bows of the Spaniards; and soon fled. Cordova, on quitting the country, took with him two of the natives, likewise
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the ornaments of a small temple. The natives of Yucatan were the first Indians which were seen with cloathing; they wore cotton garments. He then proceeded to Campeachy, on the same peninsula, where the natives attacked him with great fury; killed forty-seven Spaniards, and Cordova himself was desperately wounded. This discomfiture caused the ships to return to Cuba, and soon after their arrival Cordova died of his wounds.

Velasquez, who is described as a man more avaricious than daring, not willing to undertake any enterprise in person, fitted out four ships at his own expence, and two hundred and forty volunteers, amongst whom several persons of rank and fortune embarked. The command was given to Juan de Grijalva, who sailed from the port of St. Jago de Cuba on the 8th of April 1518. The first land they reached, in consequence of the strong currents, was the island of Cozumel, on the eastern coast of Yucatan, but without landing they proceeded to Potonchan, on the opposite side of the peninsula. There they landed, for the purpose of avenging on the natives the deaths of their countrymen who had been slain there; but the Indians fought with great fierceness, and, notwithstanding the whole Spanish force was disembarked, together with some field pieces, yet the victory was gained with difficulty, and they were compelled to re-embark. Proceeding westward along the coast, they were struck with amazement at the beauty of the country, and plainly perceived houses built

built of stone, white and lofty. In the warmth of their admiration, they imagined these to be cities adorned with towers and pinnacles; and one of the soldiers happening to remark that the country resembled Spain in its appearance, Grijalva gave it the name of NEW SPAIN, amidst universal applauses, a name which it still retains. They next landed to the west of Tabasco, in the province now named Guaxaca. The people there received them with a degree of homage rising to adoration: they burnt incense of *gum copal* before them, and made offerings of the choicest productions of their country. The Spaniards, in six days, obtained golden ornaments of curious workmanship to the value of fifteen thousand pesos, for which they bartered European toys of small value. The two Indians which had been carried away from Yucatan, in the former voyage, had served as interpreters, but did not understand the language of their country; the natives therefore informed the Spaniards, by signs, that they were subjects of a great king, named Montezuma, whose dominions extended very far. He next landed on a small island, which he named "the isle of sacrifices," having seen on it the horrid spectacle of an offering made of human victims. He afterward touched at Juan de Ulloa, and proceeded along the coast as far as the river Panuco, when he returned to Cuba, and arrived there on the 26th of October, having been about six months on his voyage.

The information which had been obtained by the voyage of Grijalva, concerning the rich and extensive kingdom which bore the name of Mexico, rendered Velásquez eager to undertake important discoveries in that direction; to effect which, he employed a considerable part of his fortune, which was doubtless much improved by Grijalva's voyage. The importance of the enterprise, however, did not excite him to conduct it in person, but he committed the important charge to Fernando Cortes, a native of Estramadura, born at a small town in that province, named Medellin, in the year 1485. His family was of noble blood, but of small fortune: he had been designed for the law, and sent by his parents to the university of Salamanca; but study not suiting his restless and enterprising disposition, he was educated for a military life, and the discoveries of Columbus opening a wide field to youth of bold and adventurous spirits, he embarked for Hispaniola when nineteen years of age, being related to Ovando, who was then governor. Seven years afterward he accompanied Velásquez to Cuba.

The talents and qualities of Cortes were of so distinguishing and superior a kind as plainly pointed him out as the fittest man in the world to command in so great an undertaking: He united to the hardy and inflexible soldier, a disposition incapable of despondency and a mind ever fruitful in expedients; he possessed such engaging manners, as gained him the esteem of all, whilst he maintained, without appearing

pearing to seek it, a dignified ascendancy; his penetration and address enabled him to discern the views and dispositions of others, whilst, with apparent frankness, he cautiously concealed his own. Nor did he want powerful friends to bring forward in the public service this extraordinary assemblage of abilities.

He set out on the 18th of November 1518, proceeding to Trinidad, a small settlement on the same island; but Velasquez had, by this time, become so jealous of the leader he had appointed, that he sent orders to deprive him of his commission; Cortes had, however, so entirely gained the attachment of the officers, that it was not thought prudent to enforce the order. From Trinidad, he proceeded to the Havanna, whither Velasquez forwarded his mandate, but the authority was there openly opposed.

Cortes had embarked all his fortune, and made use of all his credit to stake on this voyage; the capital he employed is represented by Herera and Bartholomew Diaz, as amounting to about fifteen hundred pounds sterling; he had with him eleven vessels, the largest of which was 100 tons, and called the admiral, seven of them were small open barks. On board these ships were 617 men, of which 508 were soldiers, 109 seamen and artificers. Only 13 of the soldiers were armed with muskets, 32 were cross bow men, and the rest had swords and spears. There were likewise 16 horses, 10 field pieces,

and four falconets, or small pieces of artillery. A cross was displayed on their standards, on which was inscribed, "Let us follow the cross, for under this sign we shall conquer."

Cortes proceeded to the island of Cozumel, where he released a Spaniard named Jerome de Aguilar, who had been eight years prisoner among the Indians, in which time he had acquired a dialect of the language which was understood through a large extent of country. Proceeding to the river of Tabasco, the natives shewed great animosity; a disposition quite opposite to their neighbours of Guaxaca on Grijalva's voyage. Being soon subdued, they sued for peace, were made to acknowledge the king of Castile for their sovereign, and furnished a supply of provisions, some cotton garments, gold, and twenty female slaves.

Proceeding westward to St. Juan de Ulloa, a canoe came on board Cortes's ship, in which were two persons of distinction, who addressed him with great respect; but the language in which they spoke was entirely unknown, until one of the female slaves understanding it, explaining the meaning in the Yucatan dialect, Aguilar made it known. This woman was afterward named Dorina Marina, and rendered the most important services to the Spaniards in the course of their proceedings: she had been sold as a slave in the early part of her life, and had acquired some general knowledge of the different dialects spoken

spoken in various provinces. So unexpectedly fortuitous was the outset of this expedition.

The two chiefs who addressed Cortes were reputed from Teutilé and Pilpatoc, the two officers entrusted with the government of the province by a great monarch called Montezuma, and were sent to inquire what were his intentions in visiting the coast. The two governors came the next day to enforce the same inquiry. Cortes treated them with great respect, but required to be introduced to Montezuma. At this interview the Mexicans presented Cortes with fine cotton cloth, plumes of variously coloured feathers, [with ornaments of gold and silver to a considerable value; the workmanship of which appeared as curious as the materials were rich.] These presents inflamed the avarice of the Spaniards to the highest pitch. During the interview, some painters in the train of the Mexican chiefs, were employed in delineating, upon white cotton cloths, figures of the ships, horses, and artillery, soldiers and every other striking novelty. Cortes perceiving this, drew up his men in military order, and the horsemen as well as the foot were commanded to perform various evolutions, whilst the cannon were discharged toward a thick wood at some distance, by which the trees were shattered and dismantled in a manner which impressed the Mexicans with the most awful surprise, and they considered their visitors as possessing powers equal to those of their gods.

Advice was then forwarded to the emperor Montezuma, acquainting him that the chief of the strangers required to be introduced to him, at the same time presents from Cortes were transmitted. Although the spot where this interview took place was an hundred and eighty miles distant from the city of Mexico; yet, so expeditious was the communication, that the advice was sent and an answer received in a few days. The emperor absolutely declined receiving a visit in his capital, and required that the Spaniards should immediately quit his coasts; but to qualify this refusal, a train of an hundred Indians, laden with presents from Montezuma, were introduced to Cortes: the magnificence of these presents astonished the Spaniards, who had conceived no idea of such wealth; the manufactures of cotton were of a texture so fine as to resemble silk; pictures formed by various feathers, so skilfully and elegantly arranged as to produce the most pleasing effect, and bear a competition with the works of the pencil in Europe; but all these curious pieces of workmanship were excelled in value by two large round plates, the one formed of massive gold, designed to represent the sun, the other of silver, emblematical of the moon. According to B. Diaz del Cañillo, an officer in this expedition, the value of the silver plate was more than 20,000 pesos, or about 5000 l. sterling. The Mexican nobles hoping to have mollified Cortes by such costly gifts, proceeded to acquaint him, that their great monarch would not consent that foreigners should proceed any farther to-

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ward his capital, and required that Cortes and his followers should quit the country. To this Cortes, in a resolute tone, replied, that "he must be introduced to the prince, otherwise he should incur the anger of his sovereign, who had sent him thither for that express purpose." The fate of the Mexican empire then depended on the conduct of Montezuma; and the exigence required the most prompt and decisive measures: either to receive the Spaniards in full confidence as friends, or to collect the whole force of the empire to repel them as foes. At that time the empire had risen to such a degree of splendour, as no country ever had attained in so short a period of time. According to their own traditions, it had subsisted only 130 years, in which time all the independent provinces in the country had been subdued, and brought under one sovereign, whose dominions extended 500 leagues from E. to W. and 200 from N. to S. The people were warlike and enterprising; the power of the sovereign uncontrolled, and his revenues large. Montezuma is represented as a prince who had displayed capacity in war; having by the strength of his arm effectually subdued all opposition to his will. In what respected his authority he could brook no control, but was mild and benevolent when implicitly obeyed. His capacity for government had hitherto appeared equal to every circumstance, but in this momentous period he sunk unequal to the exigence: terror and dismay so seized him, that all his conduct was indecisive and

feeble. More presents, of great value, were sent, accompanied with a positive requisition, that the Spaniards should immediately quit the country.

Cortes, who possessed all the requisites to form a consummate general, employed the interval of negotiation in constructing a fortified town on the coast, and in gaining a knowledge of the state of the country and its inhabitants. Being now compelled to act decisively, he peremptorily refused to quit the country, and persisted in demanding an audience of the emperor. The Mexicans, astonished at his boldness, withdrew, and all intercourse from that time ceased. Many among the followers of Cortes seeing an open rupture with the Mexicans inevitable, were greatly alarmed at the host of enemies which threatened to overwhelm their small force, and became importunate with their leader to return to Cuba; but Cortes, whom no dangers could affright, with admirable address brought them over to his views, by representing the disgrace which would attend relinquishing so rich a prize, and the glory and wealth which awaited their success. As he acted under no legal authority, the appointment which he had received from the governor of Cuba having been revoked, he assembled the principal persons in his army, from among whom a certain number were chosen which were to form a government under the authority of the king of Spain, without acknowledging any dependence on Cuba. The town which had been formed, and which was designed to be the seat of the new government, was named

named *Villa rica de la vera Cruz*, or “the rich town of the true cross;” so attentive were the Spaniards to sanction their insatiable avarice, by the pretexts of superstition. To the government so formed Cortes resigned his command, and he was unanimously chosen by it chief justice of the colony, and captain general of the army, under the authority of the king’s name, until the royal pleasure should be farther known. This proceeding was afterward ratified by the whole army convened for that purpose.

The first measure taken by Cortes, after he had received his new appointments, was to form an alliance with the two casiques of Zempoalla and Quia-bislan, in that neighbourhood, who being impatient of the yoke imposed on them by Montezuma, had been prevailed upon to assist the Spaniards against the Mexican power; and the Totonagues, a fierce people, inhabiting the mountainous part of the country, submitted themselves to the crown of Castile. Cortes then persuaded the newly appointed magistrates to address a letter to the king of Spain, for the purpose of justifying their own conduct in establishing an independent colony by renouncing the authority of the governor of Cuba; and in order to enforce the representations which they made, the whole of the presents which had been made by Montezuma were sent to the king. Two of the chief magistrates of the colony, named Portocarrero and Montego, were sent on this important errand,

errand, and were expressly enjoined not to touch at Cuba.

The Spaniards had now been above three months on the American continent, and although the force of Mexico was not put in motion to oppose them, yet some of the soldiers and sailors had formed a design of seizing a vessel and repairing to Cuba; Cortes, whose vigilance was unremitted, prevented its execution, and at once, to cut off all hope of quitting the country, he formed the desperate resolution of destroying all the ships, and such was his unbounded influence, that he procured the general concurrence of his people, who were thus at once deprived of every resource but what might be drawn from their own bravery, conduct, inflexibility, and success.

The general began his march from Zempoalla, on the 16th of August 1519, with 50 men, 15 horses, and six field pieces; the rest, which were chiefly invalids, he left at Villa Rica, under the command of Escalante: the casique of Zempoalla supplied him with 200 *Tamemes*, a class of Indians employed to carry burdens; he had beside 400 Indian soldiers, who were commanded by the principal men of the district, whom Cortes, with admirable policy, had selected, that he might have in his power hostages for the fidelity of their chief, the cazique.

On entering the country of the Tlascalans, a fierce and warlike people; he was attacked by a large body of troops, who rushed upon the Spaniards with great impetuosity,

impetuosity, but were not able to make any impression; although they wounded some Spaniards, and killed two horses. These Indians, previous to engaging the Spaniards, gave them warning of their hostile intentions; and as they knew their enemies were in want of provisions, and supposed them to have left their native country for want of subsistence there, they sent to the Spanish camp a large supply of poultry and maize, desiring them to "eat plentifully, because they scorned to attack an enemy enfeebled by hunger, and it would be an affront to their gods to offer them famished victims, as well as disagreeable to themselves to feed on half-starved prisoners." The Spaniards, after having repulsed the Tlascalans, proceeded with great caution, and in compact order, in their way to Mexico; in which course they sustained two more assaults from incredible numbers, but without suffering any material injury.

The Tlascalans, finding that, notwithstanding their immense numbers, and furious onset, they had not been able to make impression on an enemy whom they had held in such contempt, and that not a single man had fallen or been made prisoner, began to conceive of them as a superior order of beings, incapable of receiving any injury from their most violent assaults; and under these apprehensions they had recourse to their priests, who consulted their gods with many ceremonies and sacrifices, after which they declared to the people, that the strangers were sprung from the sun, in the regions of the east; that by day they
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were invincible, but by night they sunk into ordinary men. Confiding in this oracular revelation, the Tlascalans drew together a vast force, for the purpose of a midnight onset; but the preparations which were making could not escape the vigilance of the Spanish general, who, anticipating their attack, fell upon them, as yet unprepared, and carried slaughter and destruction in every direction.

This delusion of their priests being so fatally confuted, the Tlascalans sued for peace; but they knew not how to address their conquerors. "If," said they, "you are gods of a cruel and savage nature, we present to you five slaves, that you may drink their blood and eat their flesh; if you are mild deities, accept an offering of incense and variegated plumes; if you are men, here is meat, and bread, and fruit to nourish you." To Cortes and his followers nothing could be more desirable than peace and a cordial reconciliation; so that all animosities presently ceased, and the Tlascalans acknowledged themselves vassals to the crown of Castile. So sincere were they in their professions, that they furnished the Spaniards with 6000 of their best warriors, which acted as auxiliary troops in their operations against the Mexicans, toward whom they retained the most deadly antipathy. Nor would they have taken arms to oppose the invaders of their country in their progress, if Cortes had not so far suffered his bigotry to beguile his prudence, as to deface and throw down some of the idols in a temple of the Zempoallans;

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of which profanation the Tlascalans being informed, and bearing an equal veneration for the objects of their religious worship, were stimulated to this furious opposition.

At the time when this peace and firm alliance was formed, the Spaniards were sinking under the unremitting fatigues of the service necessary for their security and defence; many had received wounds, and others were attacked with the diseases incidental to hot climates; provisions were become scarce, and of many necessaries they were entirely destitute: among these wants was that of salve to dress the wounded, so that they had been obliged to make use of the fat of slain Indians as a succedaneum, but now all their wants were supplied, and their hopes of final success rose into confidence.

On the 15th of October 1519, Cortes directed his force toward the city of Cholula, which was held by all the people of New Spain as a place of peculiar sanctity, and the favourite residence of their gods; pilgrimages thither were made from all parts; and human victims were offered up in greater numbers in its principal temple than in that of Mexico. Here a plot was concerted by the Cholulans, in the most secret manner, to attack the Spaniards by surprise, and cut them off; but the design was timely discovered, chiefly by the intelligence which Marina found means to obtain. Immediately Cortes determined to strike terror into the Mexicans by the severe vengeance which he should take upon this occasion. He took measures

measures to draw together the chief magistrates and leading men to his camp, when a furious onset was made on the unsuspecting and secure inhabitants; who, struck with terror, and incapable of resistance, fell by an indiscriminating and merciless slaughter. The temples were set on fire, and in them the priests, and multitudes of people, who had sought a sanctuary there, were consumed in the flames, or overwhelmed in the ruins. This massacre was continued with unabated rage through two whole days. Cortes then set at liberty the magistrates whom he had in his possession, informed them of the knowledge which he had of the plot, declared his resentment fully satiated, and that he was disposed to render them his friendship and protection. The Indians, no less astonished than terrified, concluded that the Spaniards possessed the power of penetrating into their secret thoughts and most hidden designs of men.

With these impressions widely spreading before them, Cortes led his bands to the city of Mexico, which was only twenty leagues distant from Cholula. Montezuma and all his court were thrown into the utmost consternation, and their indecisive conduct betrayed their agitation of mind; so that Cortes and his followers approached the city without opposition.

At length, a large number of persons of superior rank came forth from the city, and approached him in the most respectful manner; these were the harbingers of the emperor's approach, who soon after appeared carried in great state. Cortes advanced to receive

receive him in the most respectful manner. As the Spaniards proceeded to the quarters assigned them, they frequently heard the crowd pronounce *Teules*, or divinities. In the evening Montezuma paid a visit to the Spanish chief, and brought presents of the most costly kind, not only to him and his principal officers, but to each private man. As these outward indications of regard could only be considered as dictated by fear, every precaution was taken to guard against surprise; to confirm suspicion, Cortes had received advice from Villa Rica, that Quälpopoca, a Mexican general, had fallen upon a party of the revolted Indians, to support whom, Escalante, who commanded the garrison, had marched out, and an engagement had taken place, in which, although the Mexicans were defeated, the governor and seven of his men had been mortally wounded, an horse killed, and a Spaniard taken prisoner, whose head they cut off, and carried in triumph through the districts, to convince the people that their invaders were not immortals. Cortes, sensible of the imminent dangers to which he was exposed, determined on the desperate measure of seizing the person of the emperor, and keeping him a prisoner in the Spanish quarters. To effect this, he made a proper distribution of his troops, arranging at proper stations, his Tlascalan allies, and then proceeded to visit the emperor in his palace.

At this interview he addressed the king in a style of anger, and charging him with having given orders
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for the attack which had been made upon the Spaniards, demanded reparation for those who had suffered, as well as for the insult offered to the great prince whose servants they were. Montezuma, struck with astonishment at such an indignity offered to his greatness, and with no less a dread of what might follow, disclaimed having given the sanction of his authority for the attack, and gave orders that Qualpopoca and his officers should be brought prisoners to Mexico. Cortes declared himself perfectly convinced of the king's sincerity; but told him, that to remove all apprehensions from his Spanish followers, it became necessary that the king should quit his palace, and take up his residence in the Spanish quarters, where every attention and homage should be paid him which comported with his royal dignity. Montezuma was struck dumb and motionless at this speech, but soon collecting a degree of dignified spirit becoming his rank, he replied, that "he should not so far forget his own consequence as tamely to submit to be made a prisoner, neither would his subjects permit such an insult to his person and his authority." This apparent firmness was not long supported, for Velasquez de Leon, one of the Spanish officers, in an enraged tone of voice, exclaimed, "Let us waste no more time, but either seize him instantly, or stab him to the heart." The emperor, appalled at the impassioned and threatening gestures and aspect of the speaker, instantly complied, and was conducted to his state prison, where his principal officers

officers visited him as usual, and the business of the state proceeded in its common course.

Very soon after, Quelpopoca, with his son, and five principal officers, were brought prisoners to Mexico. The emperor gave them up to Cortes, who caused them to be tried by a Spanish court-martial, which condemned them to be burnt alive. They were instantly led forth, the pile on which they were laid was composed of the weapons which were laid up in the public arsenal, and an innumerable multitude of Mexicans beheld, in silent astonishment, the double insult offered to the majesty of their empire: officers of distinguished rank consigned to death at the stake, by the sentence of strangers, for no crime, and even for the meritorious act of having obeyed the commands of their lawful sovereign; and the materials which fed these vengeful flames, furnished by the weapons which had been provided for the public defence; so that to the highest act of injustice was added the full measure of insult.

Previous to Quelpopoca and his officers being led to execution, Cortes entered the apartment of Montezuma, with some of his officers, and a soldier bearing a pair of fetters, when he sternly told the emperor, that by the confession of those who had been apprehended, and were then going to suffer death, it appeared that they had acted by his order; it was therefore necessary that he should undergo a punishment due to that crime: then turning hastily away, he left the astonished emperor deprived of an

opportunity to reply, whilst the fetters were instantly fastened to his legs. This insult to a man, whose person had ever been venerated almost to deification, struck his attendants speechless with horror; whilst the monarch, considering this indignity as preparatory to his death, no longer impressed and animated with the dignified character he had sustained, burst forth into bitter and abject wailings; but his dread of immediate death was soon removed, for no sooner was the execution over, than Cortes returned, and, with a cheerful countenance, ordered his fetters to be taken off.

The Mexican monarch, rendered abject by his sufferings and fears, continued six months in the Spanish garrison, during which time his outward deportment bespoke him to be reconciled to his situation, although his artful governor and dictator made use of his name and authority to model the government at pleasure: such great officers of the state who, from their inflexibility, could not be rendered subservient, and whose abilities rendered them dangerous, he caused to be degraded, and filled their places with such as were less able and more tractable.

By the ductile disposition of Montezuma, Cortes obtained such parts of the Spanish vessels as had been taken to pieces at Vera Cruz, but which might be again put together, to be brought to Mexico, under the artful pretext of exhibiting vessels to sail upon the lake which encompassed the city, for the entertainment of the emperor. The Indians were directed

directed to cut down timber and convert it into planks, and the iron work having been preserved, the Spanish carpenters completed two brigantines, which, whilst they yielded a novel amusement to the emperor, secured to Cortes and his followers the command of the lake.

Proceeding from one step to another, Cortes brought Montezuma to submit to the mortifying degradation of acknowledging himself the vassal of the king of Castile, to hold his crown under him as superior, and to become his tributary. To give such an act all the solemnity it required, the chief men of the empire were convened, and the emperor himself was made to be the ostensible agent in effecting his own and his country's vassalage. As he had been previously instructed, he addressed the assembly; reminding them of the traditions and prophecies which were generally received in the country, that a strange race of men should arrive on their coasts, who should become the supreme governors of the country; and he declared, that as he considered this prediction accomplished in the Spaniards, he was ready to lay down his crown at the feet of their monarch, and to become his tributary. Whilst delivering this speech, he discovered the most agonizing state of mind, and conflicting passions distracted the assembly: at length, the consummately artful Spaniard, by a due admixture of soothing plausibility and dismaying terror, wrung from them their slow consent, and the act of submission and homage was executed with every

form, which the Spaniards thought proper to prescribe.

The next use attempted to be made of the complying monarch was, to cause him to renounce the gods of his country; but he so steadily persisted in refusing to renounce his religion, that no kind of treatment or persuasion could make any impression upon him; and all the Mexicans remained equally firm. Cortes, enraged at such contumacy to his arbitrary will, determined upon destroying the idols which were placed in the great temple; but the strong and desperate opposition which he met with, both from the priests and the whole body of the people, caused him soon to desist, and he only removed the idols on one of the shrines, and placed an image of the virgin Mary there. Thus did a zeal for his own peculiar superstition become most active, when every principle of humanity and sense of moral rectitude were extinguished. This attempt, although relinquished, irritated the whole mass of the people beyond all the sufferings and indignities which had been before inflicted and heaped upon them.

Nine months had elapsed since he sent the two officers with dispatches to Charles V. when he received advice that some ships had appeared on the coast, which led Cortes to hope that his representations had been well received at the Spanish court, and that strong re-enforcements, with ample supplies, had reached the port; but he was soon undeceived, by advice from Sandoval, governor of Vera Cruz, who

who had succeeded on the death of Escalante, informing him, that the ships and forces were sent from Velásquez, governor of Cuba. The two messengers, although expressly forbidden, had touched at Cuba, on their way to Spain, and informed the governor there of every thing which had happened.

Notwithstanding the vast importance of the stake, and the fatal consequences which had been experienced from delegating his power to another, yet such was the supineness or timidity of Velásquez, that instead of resolving to lead a sufficient force in person to regain his lost authority, and deprive Cortes of his assumed power, by bold and decisive measures to possess himself of what had been already acquired, and secure the high renown, and rich spoils, which were to be gained by carrying into execution whatever remained to be accomplished, he gave to Pamphilode Narvaez, the command of a large force which he fitted out, and empowered him to seize upon Cortes, and his principal officers, and send them prisoners to Cuba. This force consisted of 18 ships, in which were embarked 80 horsemen, 800 foot soldiers, 80 of whom were musqueteers, and 120 cross-bow men; also 12 pieces of cannon.

Narvaez landed on New Spain, in April 1520, and sent a priest to Sandoval, to summon him to surrender Vera Cruz; but the governor seized him and his attendants, and sent them prisoners, and in chains, to Mexico.

Cortes was then in the central part of an enemy's country, encompassed by people whom he had irritated by every kind of cruelty and oppression, and who only wanted the power of wreaking upon their persecutors the most savage vengeance; a force composed of his own countrymen, greatly superior to his own, now threatened him with a termination of his enterprise, equally disastrous and disgraceful. A situation more perilous and appalling can scarcely be imagined, or what more entirely precluded all possibility of escape; but Cortes preserved the full possession of himself, and dispelled despondency from his followers. He received the priest and his attendants with all the kindness due to friends and brothers; expressed the strongest disapprobation of the governor's severity toward them, and won them so completely to his interest, that they imparted to him, without reserve, every thing which he wished to know, respecting Narvaez, and the purpose he came to effect. He then sent Olmedo, his chaplain, with overtures of accommodation, which, as he expected, were contemptuously rejected; but he was more successful in secretly gaining over some of the followers of that commander.

Negotiation being thus at an end, Cortes left 150 men in the garrison at Mexico, under the command of Pedro de Alvarado, to whom he committed the captive monarch, and with all the other force he could muster advanced toward his rival. On his march toward the coast, he was joined by Sandoval

and the garrison of Vera Cruz, after which junction, his force did not exceed 250 men. By the most rapid marches he reached the province of Zempoalla. The rainy season had then set in with great violence : such inclemencies the hardy followers of the Mexican conqueror were inured to bear, whilst their adversaries sunk under the hardships which they endured.

Cortés seized this opportunity to fall upon the troops of Narvaez in the dead of night, when, secure in the superiority of their numbers, and the impracticability of active operations, amidst tempests which they were unable to withstand, the usual circumspection of camps was much relaxed. The assailants, surmounting the difficulties arising from the darkness of the night, began a furious onset on their countrymen, and spread consternation wherever they came. As it was neither the interest nor disposition of the victors to shed blood, the soldiers of Narvaez were soon brought to lay down their arms, which induced their officers to surrender on terms. This complete victory was obtained with the loss of only two soldiers on the part of Cortes, and two officers and fifteen soldiers in the army of Narvaez, who, with a few who still adhered to him, were made prisoners. All the rest of the troops readily agreed to enlist under the banners of a general who was no less formidable for his conduct in the field, than alluring by his persuasive and dignified manners in civil life.

The speedy termination of this war, by the prudence, bravery, and hardiness of Cortes and his followers, procured them, however, no season of repose; for Alvarado, as soon as he had obtained the command, regardless of his small force, with a brutal ferocity, attacked the Mexicans when assembled on one of their chief festivals, and whilst dancing in the court of the great temple, massacring all without distinction, and stripping them of the rich ornaments which they wore in honour of the occasion. This unprovoked attack roused the whole city to arms. The Mexicans destroyed the brigantines on the lake, and attacked the garrison, although their beloved and revered monarch was detained there as an hostage.

Cortes being apprised of the perilous situation to which his people had brought themselves, marched back his accumulated force with a celerity equal to that with which he departed; and although the Mexicans might have effectually prevented his entering the garrison, where the Spaniards were on the point of perishing by famine, had they broken down the causeways and bridges, yet no obstacles were thrown in his way.

The force which Cortes now possessed seemed sufficient to fix him in security the tyrant of Mexico. Confiding in his resistless power, the ferocity of his nature disdained any longer to yield to temporising measures: all appearance of respect to Montezuma was therefore laid aside: instead of disapproving the sanguinary

sanguinary outrage committed by his officer, and endeavouring to appease the incensed Mexicans, he spoke of them in the most contemptuous and menacing manner. This change of disposition in the Spanish chief was soon reported to the agitated multitude, and caused rage to subdue every other passion. They flew to arms, and attacked the Spaniards in every direction, with an impetuosity unknown before. Although numbers were swept away, yet others eagerly rushed forward to supply their places, and the onset was maintained with unabating fury. The troops which had just submitted to the authority of Cortes, in expectation of finding all difficulties removed, and that nothing remained but to share the spoils of a conquered kingdom, were disgusted and dismayed at the hardships which they endured, and the dangers which every where surrounded them.

To strike terror into the assailants, the general made a powerful sally, which he conducted in person, but in this his former good fortune forsook him: a second was not more successful. As his last expedient he brought forth the captive monarch, after having properly instructed him how to address the people, in order to prevail on them to lay aside their animosity, as they bore down to a fresh assault upon the building. His appearance checked for a moment the impetuous torrent, but all respect for his person and character was soon renounced, and their rage rekindling, two arrows entered his body, and a stone, directed at him, struck him to the ground.

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When brought to his apartment and recovered from the shock, he felt all the depth of ignominy to which he was sunk from his height of grandeur; he saw, with horror, how much he had degraded himself, and what misery he had brought on his empire: resolving no longer to drag on a life of infamy, all the attentions which Cortes and his officers paid him he returned with contempt, rejected all assistance, rent the bandages from his wounds with indignant scorn, and in this paroxysm of remorse and rage he expired.

The only means of safety remaining to the Spaniards was in a retreat, which they attempted in the night; but the Mexicans, suspecting their intention, were prepared to follow them, although contrary to an established principle which restrained them from such a mode of fighting. The causeway being broken down, and every impediment effected to impede their march, they fell upon them with an extirpating impetuosity. The Spaniards, who had been accustomed to spread destruction and terror around them, experienced a total defeat. Their artillery, ammunition, and baggage, were lost, many horses killed, also 2000 Tlascalans. They lost likewise the chief part of the rich plunder, which had excited them to perpetrate all their crimes and cruelties. The loss of men which the Spaniards sustained is variously stated; Dr. Robinson supposes it to have been 600, Bernal Diaz de Castillo affirms, that 870 men perished, and only 440 escaped.

With

With these shattered remains of a powerful army, which, strange inconsistency! owed its destruction to the force it had possessed, the Spaniards found a friendly asylum in the province of Tlascala; but in their progress thither they had another severe conflict to sustain, on the 6th day of their march, when they came near Otumba; although in that action they proved victorious without much loss; for Cortes perceiving the great standard of the empire displayed, selected some of his bravest officers, and with them rushed toward it: the Mexican general was slain, and the standard taken, an universal panic immediately ensued, and the superstitious multitude fled precipitately.

Still, however, Cortes was now reduced to a very degraded situation, a fugitive from the place where he and his people had been received as divinities; his followers slaughtered by hundreds, and his force, which had been held invincible, now weakened and degraded by frequent attacks; yet his spirit remained unsubdued: he dispatched an officer, in whom he confided, to Hispaniola and Jamaica, to engage adventurers and procure horses, gunpowder, and stores; and in the mean time he employed the Indians to cut down, in the forests of Tlascala, timber for building several brigantines, intending to carry them, in detached parts, to the lake of Mexico. Whilst these measures were taking, two vessels entered the harbour of Vera Cruz with a reinforcement of men and supply of military stores: these were sent by Velasquez

Velasquez to his general Narvaez, in full confidence of the prosperous issue of his expedition.

Three ships, at different times, afterward arrived, which Francisco de Garay, governor of Jamaica, had fitted out; also a ship from Spain laden with military stores, which was fitted out by private adventurers. These various arrivals supplied Cortes with 180 men, and 20 horses. Some of the discontented followers of Narvaez he then permitted to depart, being still able to muster 550 infantry, 40 horsemen, and nine field pieces: 10,000 Indians, chiefly Tlascalans, were his allies in his second expedition against Mexico. He began his march on the 28th of December 1520, six months after his fatal retreat.

Upon the death of Montezuma, the Mexican chiefs, in whom the right of electing the emperor was vested, made choice of his brother Quetzlavaca, a man of eminent bravery and distinguished talents, and who had conducted the attacks which were made upon the Spaniards in the capital. He received constant information of what was going forward in the Spanish camp, was apprised of their intended return to the centre of the empire, and with great diligence and ability prepared to oppose them. He endeavoured, by the most soothing representations, to recover to his interests all the country powers which had formed alliances with Cortes: in the midst of these noble exertions to deliver his country from merciless plunderers, the small-pox ended his days. Guatimozin, the nephew of Montezuma,

tezuma, who had married his daughter, was then selected to the Mexican throne.

Cortes first subdued Tezeuco, the second city in Mexico, situated about twenty miles from the capital, on the banks of the lake, and here he fixed his head quarters; after which, three months elapsed before his brigantines were completed; and as the commissioner whom he had sent to Hispaniola was not returned, he was not in a condition to attack the imperial city, but he employed the time in reducing contiguous places, and detaching from Guatimozin many tribes of Indians, which had been small independent states until they had been brought under the yoke of the Mexican government.

In this state of affairs a spirit of discontent spread among the soldiers of Narvaez, and a common man named Antonio Villefagna, became the leader of the malcontents. A conspiracy was formed to assassinate their general; but one of the conspirators, stung with remorse, betrayed the design, only a few hours before the stroke was to be given. Cortes repaired to the quarters of Villefagna, and found upon him a paper containing the names of all the conspirators. Struck with astonishment at the discovery, but prudently suppressing his resentment against all concerned except the actual leader, he caused him to be hanged before the door of his lodging; then calling his troops together, he declared to them, with most consummate artifice, that he was utterly ignorant of the persons concerned in the conspiracy, the criminal having torn and swallowed

lowed a paper supposed to contain their names, and no torture could extort a confession from him. The conspirators, thus relieved from their apprehensions of discovery, abandoned all designs against their leader.

Thirteen brigantines were soon after launched on the lake; father Olmedo, the chaplain, bestowing his benediction upon them as they proceeded; giving to each a name. On this occasion a general shout of joy burst forth, and the powerful genius which could cause such a naval force to be brought into existence, under such unfavourable circumstances, excited universal admiration.

About this time, four ships arrived at Vera Cruz, with 200 soldiers and a considerable supply of ammunition and arms. Upon receiving this reinforcement, Cortes resolved on a general attack of the city, in three directions, at the same time. He had now 816 foot soldiers and 86 horsemen, three battering cannon, and fifteen field pieces; a numerous body of Indians was allotted to each division. Cortes took the command of the brigantines, on board of each were twenty-five Spaniards and a small cannon.

Guatimōzin attempted to destroy the brigantines, by assembling a vast number of canoes, which attacked them with great boldness; but they were soon dispersed, many were sunk, and much slaughter made among the people. A month passed in indecisive operations.

operations against the city, which extremely harassed the seamen by incessant exertions.

On the 3d of July 1521, Cortés put his whole force in motion, with a design to make a general assault. The division which he led on in person bore down every thing before it by resistless bravery and force, and entered the city: Julian de Alderete, who arrived with the last troops from Hispaniola, was directed to fill up the chasms and gaps in the causeway, as the main body advanced, in order to secure a retreat if their safety demanded it; but he, disdainng to be so employed whilst the battle was every where waging, rushed forward to the fight, neglectful of the necessary service entrusted to him. Guatimozin saw, and availed himself to the utmost of this indiscretion: by his orders the Mexicans gave way, and drew the Spaniards into the central part of the city, whilst a select band of his choicest warriors proceeded to the breach in the causeway, to cut off the enemy's retreat. When he had brought his design to the fit moment for execution, the priests in the great temple, receiving the appointed signal, sounded the awful drum which was consecrated to the God of War, whose sounds diffused, universally, a desperate and maddening fury: instantly they rushed upon the Spaniards, now beginning to be exhausted by a conflict so severe and so long sustained: their impetuosity was not to be withstood, and an orderly retreat was every thing which could be effected; but when they reached the causeway, they

they found themselves deprived of this means of safety. Cortes perceiving every thing to be lost, bent his whole attention to save such as were plunged into the water; whilst thus employed, six Mexican captains seized him, and were hastening away with their inestimable prize, when two of his own officers rescued him from captivity at the price of their own lives; but in this conflict he had received several dangerous wounds. About twenty Spaniards perished in the disorderly retreat, and forty more were made prisoners, to render splendid, by their tortures, the barbarous triumphs of their vengeful enemies.

As night approached, the Spaniards in their camp were appalled by the clamorous rejoicings ushering in the horrid festival rites which were to solemnize the victory of the Mexicans: the whole city blazed with illuminations, the great temple became a distinguishable object to the Spanish army from its superior lustre: they could even discern many things which were passing there, and their tortured imaginations supplied every circumstance attending the sacrifice of their wretched companions to the God of War. The dances before the temple they could discern, and they thought they perceived the Spanish prisoners, naked, and compelled to join the dance. The doleful cries of the victims sacrificed pierced their ears, and each man thought he distinguished the well known voice of a friend or associate, as the cries succeeded each other.

It must be supposed that in the desperate defeat the Spaniards suffered when they retreated from Mexico, many of their men fell alive into the hands of the victors, but their cruel fate probably was never known to their surviving comrades.

This discomfiture determined Cortes to change his mode of attack, and instead of aiming at the possession of the city by one decisive onset, to proceed by gradual approaches: his brigantines having the command of the lake, entirely cut off all supplies from the adjacent country by that means, whilst the Indians, in his service as effectually intercepted every thing by land. Famine now began to sweep away great numbers, as 200,000 persons were supposed to have been shut up in the city. Still, however, the dignified mind of Guatimozin rejected all overtures of peace, and he determined to perish in defending his empire and its capital. When the siege had continued seventy-five days, the Spaniards had penetrated into the centre of the city, three fourths of which were laid in ruins, and had made a secure lodgment in the great square; the remaining part was no longer defensible. All hope being lost, the Mexican chiefs prevailed on their beloved and dignified monarch to attempt effecting his escape from a place consigned to destruction, and by his presence to excite the distant provinces to rise in arms; he yielded to the exigency, and every proper precaution was taken to convey him out of the city in a canoe; but the penetrating vigilance of Cortes

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suggested to him, that some important object was effecting, and he gave orders accordingly, in consequence of which a Spanish officer, in one of the brigantines, captured the unhappy emperor, who resigned himself to his fate with a dignified composure; all that he asked was, that no insult might be offered to his wife or children. When brought before Cortes, he sustained himself with true magnanimity. "I have acted," said he, "as became a monarch. I have defended my people to the last extremity; nothing remains for me but to die. Plant your dagger in my breast, and finish a life now rendered useless."

With the capture of their emperor all resistance on the part of the Mexicans ceased; but the possession of the city only served to disappoint the hopes of the Spaniards, who, instead of becoming masters of inexhaustible treasures, were recompensed with very inconsiderable acquisitions. According to Cortes' account, the amount of the gold and silver acquired was 120,000 pesos; a much smaller sum than was obtained from the first plunder of the city; Guatimozin having, as is supposed, when he despaired of defending it, caused whatever species of wealth had been accumulating through successive ages, to be thrown into the lake; and the Indians, who were the allies of the Spaniards, found means to possess themselves of the greatest part of what remained. This disappointment excited a clamorous discontent among the Spaniards. Cortes, to appease this dangerous spirit, added to his numerous acts of atrocious cruelty,

cruelty, that of causing Guatimozin and his chief favourite to be put to the torture, in order to extort from them a confession where the wealth of the imperial city was concealed. No agonies could however shake the constancy of the emperor, but his companion in torture sinking under the extremity of suffering, turned his eyes toward his sovereign, expressive of a desire to obtain a release from anguish, by revealing all he knew; but the emperor, casting a look expressive of his own inflexibility, as well as contempt for his associate's weakness, said to him, "Am I indulging on a bed of flowers?" Inspired by this superior fortitude, the exhausted sufferer persisted unto death. Even the obduracy of the tormentor could not sustain such a scene, and he put an end to the tortures of the surviving Guatimozin.

Whilst Cortes was acquiring these valuable territories for the Spanish monarchy, he had acted from the first without any authority or commission from the king of Spain, and was liable to be treated as a rebel, in having thrown off the authority with which he had been legally invested. Fonseca, bishop of Burgos, who still retained his station and ascendancy, was his bitter enemy, and represented his conduct in the most odious point of view. By his representations Christoval de Tapia received a commission, directing him to supersede Cortes in his command, to seize his person and effects, and transmit an account of his conduct to Spain. Tapia arrived at Vera Cruz a few weeks after the reduction of Mexico,

but the man who had baffled so many designs against him, had the address to avert this danger also, by inducing Tapia to relinquish the enterprise. He then transmitted a second dispatch to the emperor Charles V. in which he displayed, in the most glowing and captivating colours, the valuable acquisitions which he had made for the crown of Spain; these were enforced by rich presents, and very curious specimens of the productions of the country; thus supported, he humbly urged his suit to be appointed governor of the territory which his perseverance, conduct, and valour, aided by his intrepid followers, had at length gained the possession. Charles was so fully sensible of the merits of the man, and of the farther services which he was capable of rendering, that notwithstanding the remonstrances of Fonseca and the claims urged by Velasquez, he appointed Cortes, captain general and governor of New Spain.

The treatment which the Mexicans received when they were brought under entire subjection, was beyond measure cruel and oppressive; whilst so oft as their sufferings drove them to acts of violence, those furnished a pretext to reduce them to slavery; but the nobles and principal persons being incapable of bodily labour, were put to death in the most cruel manner. A suspicion arose that Guatimozin was forming designs to raise an insurrection: no proofs were produced, or trial had, yet that truly magnanimous monarch, with two of the most considerable

derable persons in the empire, were publicly hanged.

When Charles V. appointed Cortes governor of New Spain, he nominated commissioners to receive the royal revenue, to pay the salaries of the officers, and to transmit the residue independent of the governor. These men being witnesses of the absolute power which Cortes exercised over the conquered country; in their despatches to the king of Spain represented Cortes as a tyrant, who sought to render himself independent in the country which he had conquered, and which he ruled with a rod of iron. The emperor, alarmed, appointed Ponce de Leon to seize the person of Cortes, if he should see it expedient, and to send him prisoner to Spain; but this attempt to displace him likewise failed, by the death of the officer appointed to effect it, which happened soon after his arrival.

Cortes, seeing his interest with his sovereign thus declining, and not choosing to be proceeded against in a judicial manner, on the spot where his triumphs had been so splendid and so decisive, determined to repair to Castile, and there render an account of his conduct.

He arrived there in 1528, where he appeared with a splendour which suited the conqueror of a mighty kingdom. He brought with him a great part of his wealth, many jewels and ornaments of great value, several curious productions of the country, and was attended by some Mexicans of the first rank, as well

as by the most considerable of his own officers. His arrival in Spain removed at once every suspicion and fear which had been entertained with respect to his intentions. The emperor having now nothing to apprehend from the designs of Cortes, received him as a person whom a consciousness of his own innocence had brought into the presence of his master, and who was entitled, by the eminence of his services, to the highest marks of distinction and respect. The order of St. Jago, the title of Marquis del Valle de Guaxaca, the grant of an ample territory in New Spain, were successively bestowed upon him; and as his manners were correct and elegant, although he had passed the greatest part of his life among rough adventurers, the emperor admitted him to the same familiar intercourse with himself that was enjoyed by noblemen of the first rank. *Robertson's History of America*, II. 410.

These honours and distinctions, however flattering, did not satisfy the conqueror of Mexico, whose chief wish was to obtain the government of New Spain with ample powers; but such authority Charles was too wise to delegate, and only gave him a licence to prosecute new discoveries, and invested him with the military department; at the same time the chief power in civil affairs was entrusted to a court called "The Audience of New Spain." To that country he returned in 1530. He continued there ten years, and then revisited Europe in extreme disgust. His reception on this his second arrival was very different from

from the former. The emperor expecting no farther services, was no longer familiar; but though his behaviour was no more than distantly civil, yet his ministers thought it not worth while to preserve that decorum. In this irksome situation Cortes dragged out about the last seven years of his life, dying on the 2d of December 1547, in the 62d year of his age. A man who, by combining in his character qualities the most wonderful and distinguishing, perpetrated crimes of the deepest dye.

• The accounts which are handed down to us of this wonderful event, the conquest of Mexico, were written, either by Spaniards who were employed in military service, or by a priest who attended the camp: the first raised the military prowess of themselves and their countrymen to an incredible height to share in the glory of such heroic deeds; the latter, by representing the conquest as an achievement beyond the powers of man to accomplish, resolved it into the miraculous interposition of St. Jago, or St. James, the tutelar saint of their country; but it ought to be taken into the account, that according to Cortes' own narrative, 150,000 Indians acted as auxiliars, and other writers make the number to be considerably greater. Among these, the Tlascalans were renowned warriors before the arrival of the Spaniards, and several thousand of their troops attended Cortes from his first advances to Mexico to the final reduction of the city; these, under such a general, and in such a length of severe service, must have been formed into well trained and

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powerfully efficient soldiers. Such facts, when allowed due weight, entirely do away the marvellous, and make this piece of history appear to be, what it justly is, one of the most astonishing instances of human valour, perseverance, and consummate generalship.

Another circumstance, horrid to relate, is, that the Tlascalans fed on the flesh of slain Mexicans, and the Spaniards were daily witnesses to these anthropophagian meals. Such was their insatiable relish for this kind of food, that they preserved the limbs of their slain enemies from putrefaction by salting them, and sent large quantities, so cured, to their countrymen at home, to supply them with luxurious banquets.

As the Spanish writers, in computing sums of money, constantly reckon by *pesos*, it is necessary to explain the implied value of that coin. Dr. Robinson observes, that “in America, the *peso fuerte* or *duro* is the only one known, and that is always meant when any sum imported from America is mentioned.” The *peso fuerte*, as well as other coins, has varied in its ~~numera~~ value; but he considers it as equal to four shillings and six pence of our money. “It is to be remembered, however, that in the sixteenth century, the effective value of a *peso*, i. e. the quantity of labour which it represented, or of goods which it would purchase, was five or six times as much as at present.” *Preface, page xvii.*

CHAP. XIII.

The CONQUEST of PERU.

THE preceding chapter exhibited the exploits of a man who waded through slaughter to acquire wealth, and who shut the gates of mercy on millions of the human species, involving in misery their devoted posterity; a conduct which may be thought to fill up the measure of *human* depravity: but as atrocities in crimes are progressive as well as attainments in virtue, in the present chapter, *infernal* guilt may be considered as rendered visible upon earth, to illustrate by example the existence of beings, which the general belief of the unenlightened as well as the enlightened world have placed in invisible regions.

As the conquests made by the Spaniards served only to excite a more general spirit of adventure, and to render the needy and unprincipled among the people of Spain impatient to amass wealth, and riot amidst the sufferings of defenceless Indians in the western hemisphere; several attempts were made to explore this vast continent to the south-eastward of Panama, of which Balboa had made so favourable a report; but as sufferings and disappointments were the only result

result of each enterprize for the space of seven years, it was generally supposed, either that Balboa had been deceived by the information he had obtained from the Indians, or that he had fabricated a tale to answer private purposes.

Although every expectation of making valuable discoveries in that quarter was generally renounced, there were three men residing in Panama who were fully persuaded of their practicability, and of the vast advantage to be gained by success. The principal person in this association was Francisco Pizarro, a Spaniard of low birth and no education, whose strength of body and daring spirit led him to become a soldier in his youth. He first served in Italy, but soon embarked for America; he had attended Balboa in his expedition toward Peru, and had rendered himself conspicuous for his hardiness and audacity. To him were united Diago de Almagro, another soldier of fortune, and Harmando Luque, a priest, who had resided some years at Panama, and followed the profession of a school-master. These three persons agreed to throw all the property they had acquired into one joint stock, with which they fitted out a small vessel, having on board 112 men, and in it Pizarro embarked on the 14th of November 1524, whilst his two partners remained at Panama to wait the event, and to render him farther supplies as occasion might require. In this voyage the sufferings of Pizarro and his party were most severe, and would have entirely discouraged any man less inflexible in spirit.

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spirit than himself. Almagro, after some time, followed him. It was a considerable time before a junction was formed; but that probably saved both parties from destruction. They soon after discovered the coast of Peru, and landed at three degrees south of the line. Here were seen a stately temple, and a palace belonging to the sovereign of the country, which bespoke the opulence and civilization of the inhabitants; some vessels of gold and silver were procured, and some curious works of art. They likewise brought away two of the natives, who were young men; one of whom afterward served as an interpreter.

Three years were employed in laying this foundation for future discoveries; but these flattering appearances were not sufficient to gain the necessary support from the Spanish American settlements; it was therefore agreed that Pizarro should proceed to Spain, and solicit the aid of government to effect the discovery and conquest of a country so replete with allurements.

Pizarro found the Spanish ministry not much disposed to attend to his representations, and he might probably have finally failed, had not Cortes about that time arrived from Mexico, and received particular marks of favour from the emperor: he had known Pizarro on the island of Cuba, and was well acquainted with his qualifications to effect the purpose intended; and it is very probable that his good offices with the emperor procured for his old associate the appointment of governor of the new settlement which

which might be made. Almagro, after some time, was appointed lieutenant governor, though Pizarro, at first, had procured him to be named only governor of a fortress, which so much incensed him, that an open rupture would have ensued, Pizarro had not brought about a reconciliation by procuring for him the rank which had been stipulated for in the contract. Luque was appointed bishop of the country to be discovered, and nothing more is heard of him in the sequel. Cortes likewise advanced a sum of money to Pizarro, to enable him to proceed in the undertaking, as no farther support could be obtained from government, than granting a sanction to the expedition by the royal licence and appointment to offices, for which Pizarro engaged to raise 250 men, to provide the ships, and likewise the military stores.

He took with him to America his three brothers, Ferdinand, Juan, and Gonzalo Pizarro; men admirably suited to follow such a fraternal leader.

Thus supported by regal authority, when the three partners exerted all their abilities in property and credit at Panama, no more than three small vessels could be provided, and 180 soldiers, 36 of whom were horsemen. With this force Pizarro sailed in February 1531; the season was favourable, and he reached Peru in thirteen days sailing. He landed his troops in the bay of St. Matthew. As the only quality which this leader possessed was a brutal hardness
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of mind and body, he made no attempt to conciliate the natives, but on the contrary attacked them, whenever a present advantage was to be seized, which caused the Peruvians to abandon their habitations and fly up the country; which occasioned him and his followers soon to feel a total want of necessary supplies; but, after enduring such hardships as excited loud discontents, he reached the province of Coaque, where he surprised the principal settlement, and seized vessels and ornaments of gold and silver to the amount of 30,000 pesos, with other valuable spoils. He immediately dispatched a ship to Panama, with a large remittance to his partner Almagro, and continued his march along the coast. He scarcely met with resistance until he attacked the island of Puna, in the bay of Guayquil, which was populous, and the people fierce and warlike; they defended themselves with great bravery, and Pizarro spent six months in reducing them. He then returned to Tumbez, where the sickly state of his small army compelled him to remain during three months. The first Spanish colony established in Peru was near the river Piura, and received the name of St. Michael.

At the time of this invasion the empire of Peru stretched 1500 miles along the Pacific Ocean from N. to S. its breadth from E. to W. was bounded by the chain of mountains called the Andes. Its history is very singular. The tradition current in the country was, that at a period not very remote, civilization was in a very rude state, and the natives were

were formed into distinct and independent tribes when a man and a woman of forms surpassing human in a graceful dress, appeared, and with an air of majestic benignity addressed the rude and dispersed natives in such a manner as was rendered intelligible to them. The name of the man was Manco Capac, and of the woman Mema Ocollo; they styled themselves children of the sun, and said that they were sent by that great luminary, to instruct them in the arts of life, by which comforts and accommodations might be procured. The savage tribes listened with pleasure to the instructions thus imparted: the earth became cultivated, garments became manufactured, the men and women were initiated into occupations suited to their different sexes, and at length the foundation of a city was laid, which took the name of Cuzco.

The descendants of these founders of the empire were revered as superior beings; they were styled "children of the sun" and "INCAS, or lords of Peru." The reverence paid to them was unbounded; they were not only absolute monarchs, but were revered as divinities. The Peruvians counted a succession of twelve monarchs from the original stock, but the period of time when this renovated state of the country took place is not ascertained by any revolution of years. As the descendants of the sun had in no instance intermarried with the people of the country, their blood was unmixed and considered as sacred. The absolute power which the Incas thus possessed,

possessed, is represented as having been uniformly exercised with mildness; although for the purpose of diffusing general prosperity and happiness, their government had been gradually extending.

It appears that the Spaniards attempted the conquest of Peru at the very precise point of time when the subversion of that populous and powerful empire could only have been effected by a force apparently so inadequate. Huana Capac, the 12th monarch of the Incas, was celebrated, like his predecessors, for his virtues and talents; he was a warlike prince, and brought the kingdom of Quito under subjection, which almost doubled the power of the Peruvian empire; but this conquest proved fatal, for he was led to marry the daughter of the vanquished monarch, thus contaminating his pure origin: a son named Atahualpa was the offspring of this marriage; who, about the year 1529, succeeded, on the death of his father, to the kingdom of Quito, whilst Huascar, another son, by a princess of the royal race, succeeded to all his other dominions. This dismemberment of the empire produced the first civil war which had ever been waged in the country. Atahualpa, having gained over the best troops of the empire, soon vanquished his rival, and, to strengthen himself in power, he did not scruple to put to death all the royal race descended from his father whom he could draw into his power, either by force or stratagem, Huascar only excepted, who, having been taken prisoner in a decisive battle, was suf-
fered.

ferred to live, that he might issue orders under the direction of the conqueror.

Information of this state of affairs in the country was communicated to Pizarro when at St. Michael, by a message sent to him by Huascar, soliciting his aid against his brother Atahualpa, whom he represented as a rebel and an usurper. Nothing could be more acceptable to the Spanish invader than such intelligence, and he proceeded, without delay, into the heart of the kingdom with his slender force.

The breed of horses having been successfully attended to in America, his cavalry formed a considerable part of his force, for he had 62 horsemen and 122 foot soldiers; his artillery consisted of only two field pieces. He proceeded toward Caxamalca, 12 days march from the coast, where Atahualpa was encamped, from whom an officer arrived with a valuable present, accompanied with a proffer of his alliance and assurances of friendship on the part of the Inca. Pizarro had trained one of the natives, whom he had carried away on his first visit to the coast, to act as an interpreter; this youth having received baptism, was named Philippillo; by his means the commander was enabled to delude the Inca, asserting that he was sent by a very powerful monarch, and his design in advancing was to offer the Inca his assistance. This assurance lulled the prince and his people into a very fatal security, and caused them to refrain from making use of the means which occurred, in the farther march of the Spaniards through the country, to cut them off. As they approached Caxamalca, presents

of greater value than the former arrived from Atahualpa.

On entering Caxamalca, Pizarro took possession of a large court, on one side of which was a house, which the Spanish historians call a palace of the Inca, and on the other, a temple of the sun: the whole was surrounded with a strong rampart, or wall of earth. Thus securely posted, he dispatched his brother Ferdinand and an officer named Hernando Soto to the camp of Atahualpa, about a league distant from the town; for the purpose of confirming his declaration of the pacific disposition with which he was come, and to request an interview.

The reception which they met with at the court of the Inca was cordially friendly, and that monarch returned for answer that he would visit the Spanish commander the next day in his quarters. The decent manners of the Peruvians, the reverence which they paid to their sovereign, but still more the profusion of wealth which every where appeared, struck the Spaniards with astonishment. Rich ornaments, costly vessels of gold and silver, every where met their eyes: the repast which was served up to them was brought in a great number of gold and silver utensils. Such vast wealth, which, if protected by a sufficient force, would have struck these needy adventurers with an abject awe, being possessed by men whose numbers impressed no apprehensions, and whose utmost force was considered as capable of being overwhelmed by the weapons and skill of

Europeans; roused every latent principle of baseness in their minds.

The report which these messengers made to their leader, on their return, determined him to seize upon the person of the Inca on the ensuing visit, and to pour destruction on his unsuspecting subjects; to effect which a proper distribution of the Spanish forces was instantly made. The Inca, although stained with the blood of his kindred, was not taught by his own crimes to entertain the smallest suspicion of the machinations which were formed against him and his kingdom, whilst his attention was entirely directed to impress upon his foreign visitors an admiration of his magnificence and power. His fatal security probably arose from the inconsiderable number of the Spaniards; and although their superiority in military operations made him solicitous to obtain them for allies, they did not appear likely to rise into formidable enemies.

The procession was in the highest style of pomp. 400 men, in an uniform dress, preceded as harbingers. The Inca was seated on a throne or couch, adorned with plumes of various colours, and almost covered with plates of gold and silver, enriched with precious stones: it was borne on the shoulders of his principal attendants. Some of the chief officers of his court, who were carried in the same manner, followed him. Several bands of singers and dancers accompanied this grand procession. The whole plain was covered with troops.

troops, which were supposed to amount to 30,000 men.

As the Inca entered the Spanish quarters, Vincenti Valverde, a Dominican friar, who was chaplain to the expedition, advanced toward him with a crucifix in one hand and a breviary in the other, and in a long discourse endeavoured to explain the principles of the Christian faith, exhorting him to embrace that religion, and more especially to acknowledge the supreme jurisdiction of the pope; he concluded with requiring him to yield submission to the king of Spain, to whom the pope had given the empire of Peru, promising if he complied instantly with the requisition, the Spanish monarch would protect his dominions, and permit him to continue in the exercise of the regal authority; but if he should impiously reject this invitation, he denounced war against him in the name of the king his master.

Atahualpa listened with great attention to this insolent harangue; to which, when finished, the monarch calmly replied, "It is great extravagance in the pope to give away so liberally that which does not belong to him. You own he is inferior to the three gods whom you worship, and yet the gods only can dispose of kingdoms. I wish to become the friend of the king of Spain, whose great power I perceive by the army which he has sent to this distant country, but I will not be his vassal. The religion of my ancestors I venerate, and until you convince me that it is false, and that yours only is the true religion,

religion, it would be equally absurd as impious in me to renounce it. You adore a god who died upon a cross, I worship the sun who never dies." He then expressed a desire to know where such wonderful and incongruous doctrines could be contained. Valverde presented to him his breviary, and informed him they were contained in that book. The Inca opened it eagerly, and turning over the leaves, applied them to his ear. "This book," says he, "is silent; it tells me nothing;" and then threw it disdainfully on the ground. The furious ecclesiastic, turning toward the Spaniards, instantly exclaimed, "Vengeance, Christians; the word of God is profaned; kill those impious dogs who despise the religion of the cross."

The impatience of Pizarro's followers could scarcely be suppressed by their leader whilst this preparatory mockery was carrying on, but now, the signal of assault was given, the martial music struck up; the two field pieces were discharged, at the same time that the musketry spread destruction and terror, the cavalry rushed out, and opened a way for the infantry to advance sword in hand.

The fury of this unlooked-for attack deprived the Peruvians of the power of resistance, whilst Pizarro, with a few select myrmidons, assaulted the Inca with the fury of russians, laying dead at his feet the nobles who pressed around him to protect his sacred person. Pizarro, foremost in the assault, seizing the Inca by the arm, dragged him from his
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royal seat, never more to be resumed, to the ground, and hurried him away, as the vilest criminal, to his quarters. The carnage was continued throughout the whole day, with unabating fury. More than 4000 Indians were slain, without any loss on the part of the assailants, and not a man among them was even wounded, except Pizarro, who received a slight hurt in the hand by one of his soldiers, in the general eagerness to seize the Inca.

The exultations of these lawless freebooters, when they had collected the spoils of the field, knew no bounds: their plunder surpassed every thing which their most romantic hopes had figured to themselves the possession of, and their riotous transports during the night were orgies duly suited to the havoc of the day.

Some of the Spanish writers, to wipe off the foul stain which this execrable deed fixes on their countrymen, have pretended, that the Inca was not sincere in his professions of friendship, and that his numerous soldiers were provided with the means of falling upon the Spaniards and massacring them, on a proper signal being given by their sovereign; but the imputation on the unhappy Indian is utterly unsupported by any proofs, or even probable circumstances.

Atahualpa, unable to support the indignities and injuries heaped on him, gave himself up to a torpid melancholy, and Pizarro became apprehensive of losing the many advantages which he expected to derive

derive from holding him a prisoner; the Spaniard therefore endeavoured to relax something of his fell nature, and to soothe the Inca with professions of kindness and respect: nor were these endeavours unavailing; the captive prince became more calm, and, rendered fully sensible of the Spaniard's strong passion for gold, he offered, as the means of procuring his enlargement, or by way of ransom, to fill the apartment in which he was confined with vessels of gold and silver as high as he could reach: it was 22 feet in length and 16 in breadth. Pizarro agreed to the conditions, and a line was drawn upon the walls of the chamber to mark the exact height to which the treasure was to rise. The Inca immediately dispatched messengers to every part of his dominions where gold had been amassed, either for the purpose of adding splendour to the temples of their gods or the palaces of the princes; and the people, anxiously solicitous to save the life and obtain the enlargement of their sovereign, cheerfully delivered up whatever was in their possession. Could they have conceived of the unprincipled baseness and insatiable avarice of their invaders, they might even then have taken such measures as might have been rendered effectual to exterminate these robbers: had the whole force of the empire, then entire and not materially weakened, been collected, and one powerful onset made, it could scarcely have been withstood by such a handful of men. The Mexicans, by acting thus, when the force of their enemies was more than four times

times greater, and seconded by warlike allies had very nearly triumphed, but to the Peruvians, their deliverance did not entirely depend on one powerful and well-directed effort of valour; the nature of the country was such, that a proper distribution of force would have effectually intercepted all intercourse between the party under Pizarro, then so remote from the coast, and the succours which might from time to time arrive: extensive sandy plains, encompassed with craggy rocks, where the only passage lay through dangerous defiles, gave a determined body of natives every advantage over an enemy, both in open attack and in the power of consigning them to helpless famine; but the apprehensions entertained for the life of their sovereign probably suppressed every disposition to resort to vigorous efforts. Indeed the Peruvians appear to have been reduced to such a degree of effeminacy and imbecility, that neither the most irritating cruelties, nor the most favourable circumstances for regaining their liberty and independence, were capable of rousing them to action; in pusillanimity they were sunk as much below the Mexicans, as they surpassed them in a profusion of wealth.

Whilst the hoarded treasures of Peru were thus flowing in from every quarter, Pizarro received advice that Almagro was arrived at St. Michael's with a reinforcement, which almost doubled the number of those at Caxamalca. The greatest part of the stipulated contributions which were to be the price of

the king's ransom, was arrived, and the remainder was collecting in the more distant provinces. The sight of such vast piles of gold excited a maddening impatience in the greedy soldiers, and their leaders, not less goaded by impatience, could no longer refrain from issuing orders for melting down the whole, except some pieces of curious fabric, reserved as a present for the emperor. The festival of St. James, the patron saint of Spain (July 25th, 1533), was chosen for the purpose of dividing this vast booty; for so deeply were these miscreants sunk in crimes, as to wish to persuade themselves that the exhibition of such costly spoils, obtained by lawless force and the most fraudulent breach of faith, would be acceptable to the holy apostle! Dr. Robertson states, that after setting apart the fifth due to the crown, and 100,000 pesos as a donative to the soldiers which had arrived with Almagro, there remained 1,528,500 pesos to Pizarro and his followers. Above 8000 pesos, at that time not inferior to as many pounds sterling in the present century, fell to the share of each horseman, and half that sum to each foot soldier. *Hist. of America*, 8vo. Edit. III. 41. The precise portion possessed by Pizarro and his officers is not specified; but, taking the number of horse and foot which composed this army, and allotting to each man his share, an unappropriated surplus remains of 544,500 pesos, or more than half a million sterling, according to the value of money at that time.

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The Inca now claimed the fulfilment of the contract, and to be set at liberty, but Pizarro cared for none of those things. With a temper yet more cruel than his predecessor and great exemplar Cortes, his savage disposition could not conceal itself under the disguise of assumed complacency and outward respect. Many of the soldiers being possessed of such a profusion of wealth, in addition to the rich spoils gained by the preceding massacre, were clamorous for their discharge, which Pizarro readily granted them, well knowing that he should reap less future benefit from the services of men so incumbered, than from the report they would make wherever they repaired, together with the proofs they carried with them, and that numbers of hardy adventurers would be excited to enlist under his banners; about 60 of them therefore accompanied his brother Ferdinand to Spain, who was dispatched with an account of his success, and carried with him a fifth part of the spoil which was laid aside for the emperor.

Atahualpa, during his confinement, had distinguished Juan Pizarro and Hernando Soto from the other Spaniards who were commonly about his person, on account of their humane and respectful behaviour toward him. When they were with him, the anguish of his mind felt a momentary relief, and he was disposed to beguile the time, by gaining information, from them, concerning European arts; among these, he was particularly struck with the practice of reading and writing, and knew not whether

ther to consider them as a natural or acquired quality. Desirous of deciding this point, he asked a soldier who guarded him, to write the name of God on his (the Inca's) thumb; this he shewed to several Spaniards who successively entered the apartment, inquiring of them what it meant. He was surprised to find that every one instantly returned the same answer. Whilst this experiment was making, Pizarro entered, when the same question was put to him. A blush of shame suffused the face of the stern barbarian, when, by being incapable of reading the word, his ignorance became manifest. The Inca was now convinced that reading was an acquired habit, and felt a contempt for the illiterate soldier which he had not sufficient art to conceal. This detection of gross ignorance, and the apparent impression it made on the royal captive, sharpened the rage of Pizarro, whilst Almagro and his followers, newly arrived, expressed great dissatisfaction at the share assigned to them of the Inca's ransom, and were jealous of what, in future, might be acquired by those who were about his person; they therefore insisted on his immediate death, as the only means of placing them on an equal footing with the other adventurers. A form of trial in consequence took place. Pizarro, Almagro, and two others, were appointed judges by the whole body, with full powers to acquit or to condemn. An attorney-general was appointed to carry on the prosecution in the name of the king of Spain, counsellors were chosen to assist the Inca in his defence,

and clerks appointed to enter upon record the proceedings of the court, in all the mock forms of Spanish judicature. The charges on which this trial was founded, suited such a solemn abuse of justice. Atahualpa was accused of having usurped the regal power although of bastard birth; of having deposed and put to death his brother and rightful sovereign; of being an idolater; and of having sanctioned the offering up of human sacrifices; of having many concubines; of having wasted and embezzled the royal treasures during his confinement, which had become the property of the conquerors; and finally, that he had excited his subjects to take arms against the Spaniards. He was soon found guilty, and condemned to be burnt alive. Friar Valverde confirmed this sentence, and signed the warrant for the Inca's execution. The wretched Indian, when apprised of his fate, melted into tears; entreated that he might be sent to Spain, and there be judged by the sovereign of the country: but Pizarro was inexorable, and ordered the unhappy victim to be led to immediate execution, whilst the same execrable ecclesiastic, who had been so instrumental in producing this catastrophe, although of the order most distinguished for humanity toward the Indians, exhorted him to embrace, what he called, the Christian faith, promising him, on compliance, a mitigation of punishment. The love of life prevailed. Atahualpa agreed to receive baptism. The ceremony was performed; but the only mitigation of suffering granted to the Christian Indian was, that he should

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be strangled at the stake!—The enormity of such proceedings occasioned several of the followers of Pizarro openly to declare their abhorrence of such violations of all laws divine and human.

One of the sons of Atahualpa was then named Inca of Peru and Quito by Pizarro, but the people of Cuzco and its environs received Manco Capac, a brother of Huascar, as Inca, the latter having been assassinated whilst in confinement by the order of Atahualpa, in consequence of some attempt which he had made to bribe the Spaniards to his interests.

Immediately upon the execution of the Inca, usurpers arose in every part of the empire, each actuated by the rage of destroying every descendant of the son which they could any where seize upon. Such were the convulsions which hastened the dissolution of the Peruvian empire!

Pizarro having received large additions of strength, and confiding in the dissensions which tore the empire, marched to Cuzco. These supplies of men were obtained in consequence of the spoil which had been amassed; for the officers and soldiers who had received their discharge, and carried away their shares of the Inca's ransom, when they arrived at Panama, so dazzled the eyes of their countrymen by their splendid acquisitions, that the report instantly spread through all the Spanish settlements on the South Sea, and produced such a general effect, that the governors could scarcely restrain the people, by the full exertion of their authority, from abandoning their possessions and hastening in crowds to Peru,

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He began his march, at the head of, 500 men, beside a strong garrison left at St. Michael, under the command of Benalcázar, an officer of great merit, and who, like every other meritorious man, a party in these nefarious deeds, was finally treated with injustice and contempt. The Indians now began to rise in arms, to oppose the farther progress of the Spaniards; but the proper season was passed, and they were every where defeated with great slaughter. Cuzco fell an easy prey to the Spanish depredator, where he possessed himself of riches surpassing even what the delusive covenant for the ransom of Atahualpa had extorted.

In the mean time, Benalcázar, governor of St. Michael, being continually strengthened by the arrival of new adventurers, and disdaining a state of inaction, resolved to attempt the conquest of Quito: the face of the country was extremely unfavourable to invasion, being mountainous, and thickly overspread with forests; yet, having only the difficulties of the country to surmount, he entered the capital; but the treasure expected to be found there, the hopes of possessing which had animated and supported the party to bear all their heavy weight of sufferings, had been carried off by the natives.

Ferdinand Pizarro, on his arrival in Spain (1534), astonished the whole nation with the profusion of gold and silver which he delivered into the public treasury. An acquisition so great and unexpected, so seasonably recruiting the emperor's coffers, exhausted

hausted as they were by his schemes of boundless ambition and persecuting tyranny, removed every ground of scruple how it might have been obtained.

Honours and appointments were liberally conferred in recompense for such essential services: Francisco Pizarro received a confirmation of his authority, with additional powers and privileges, and a farther extent of 70 leagues along the coast to the southward of the former grant. Almagro was appointed *Adelantado* or governor, with jurisdiction over 200 leagues of country farther to the southward than those granted to Pizarro. Ferdinand was invested with the military order of St. Jago, and returned to Peru, accompanied by many persons of distinction.

Almagro, thus entitled to territories, the boundaries of which must necessarily be very inaccurately traced, laid claim to the imperial city of Cuzco, as situated within his limits; but the dissension which a contest for so valuable a possession could not fail to create, at that time subsided, by an agreement being made that he should undertake the conquest of Chili, which country he invaded at the head of 570 men. The route he chose was over the Andes: in his march he was exposed to the severest hardships, under which many of his followers perished, and when, thus worn down with extreme cold, hunger, and fatigue, they entered the plains of Chili, they found the natives prepared to oppose them; whilst robust bodies, undaunted courages, and warlike

warlike habits, rendered them formidable enemies : much time was therefore spent in subduing them.

Pizarro, now considering the Peruvians as fully conquered, and the jarring interests between him and his colleague, though not adjusted, yet not being likely to produce a speedy rupture, employed this season of tranquillity in establishing a form of government in the extensive provinces which he had acquired. He divided the country into districts, appointed magistrates, courts of justice, and the mode of collecting the revenue, working the mines, and the treatment of the Indians. He farther extended his views to founding a city which should be the capital of a great empire. He made choice of the valley of Rimac, one of the most extensive and best cultivated spots in Peru, and there laid the foundation of a city, at the distance of six miles from Callao, the most commodious harbour in the Pacific Ocean, and named it *Ciudad de los Reyes*, "the city of the kings;" but it has since been better known to foreigners by the name of LIMA. Here he erected a magnificent palace for his own residence, and stately houses were soon constructed for his principal officers.

The spirit of the Peruvians, which until this time (1536) had appeared so abject, now began to burst forth, and to excite a general combination to oppose their tyrants; efforts which might have proved successful at an earlier period. The son of Atahualpa, who had been named the Inca, died soon after his nomination

nomination to that imaginary dignity, and Manco Capac, whom the Spaniards had afterward made use of as their legal instrument, found means to carry on a secret correspondence, and at the celebration of a grand festival the plan which had been fully matured without any suspicion being excited, appeared in a general insurrection: the standard of war was erected, and all the warriors throughout the empire were immediately in arms. The Spanish writers say 200,000 men were assembled; many Spaniards were massacred, and the city of Cuzco was attacked, in which were the three brothers of Pizarro, with a garrison consisting of no more than 170 men. At the same time the new city of Lima was invested, and all communication between the two places cut off. The siege of Cuzco continued nine months. The Peruvians collected the swords, the spears, and the bucklers, which had been obtained from the Spaniards who had been killed or taken, and armed their most expert warriors with those weapons; attempting to form them according to the Spanish rules of military discipline: even the muskets of the Spaniards were turned against themselves. The Inca himself, and some of his boldest followers, mounted the horses which they had taken, and adopted the Spanish method of charging the enemy with lances. Manco Capac obtained possession of one half of the city; and in the course of the siege, Juan Pizarro, the best beloved of the brothers, with several other persons of note, were slain.

slain. When the besieged were driven to the last extremity, Almagro with his detachment appeared. He had received the royal patent, which appointed him governor of Chili, and defined its limits, within which he was fully assured Cuzco lay, and he appeared before it to gain its possession by force of arms.

After defeating and dispersing the Peruvians, Almagro made himself master of Cuzco, when the two surviving brothers of Pizarro, Ferdinand and Gonzalo, became his prisoners.

In the mean time Francisco Pizarro having received large reinforcements from the Spanish colonies, totally routed the Peruvians who had assailed him; after which he found himself enabled to detach 500 men, under the command of Alonzo de Alvarado, to the relief of his brothers at Cuzco, of whom he had heard no tidings for nine months.

The superior generalship of Almagro enabled him to baffle this attack; he surprised his enemy by night, took Alvarado prisoner, and several of his principal officers.

Although Almagro had been a soldier and an adventurer through a long life, being then seventy-five years of age, he had not acquired that degree of insensibility and desperate boldness which were necessary, in the situation he then was, to decide the contest between himself and Pizarro. Orgognez, his principal officer, was less scrupulous; for he advised that Ferdinand and Gonzalo Pizarro, together with

Alvarado, should be put to death, and that Almagro should immediately march in full force to Lima; but the counsel, in both instances, was rejected, and he resolved to wait the approach of his enemy at Cuzco. The crafty Pizarro profited by this moderation; he amused Almagro with negotiation, whilst Gonzalo Pizarro and Alvarado found means to escape from confinement and to repair to Lima. The governor, secured from all apprehensions concerning one of his brothers, proposed to Almagro that the justice of their respective claims should be referred to the court of Spain, and that his captive brother Ferdinand should be liberated, and deputed on that business on the part of the governor, and accompany the deputies sent on the part of Almagro, whose unsuspecting nature was such, that he suffered himself to be imposed upon by so shallow an artifice, practised by a man whose sincerity was ever to be strongly suspected.

No sooner had Ferdinand Pizarro regained his liberty, than his brother the governor threw off the mask, and declared that the possession of Peru must be held by him who could obtain it by force of arms; to effect which, he presently mustered 700 men, and gave the command of this armament to his two brothers.

Almagro waited their approach in the plain of Cuzco: he had scarcely 500 men; the defections from his cause having been considerable; in cavalry he exceeded his enemies: each party was eager to engage;

engage; whilst the mountains which encompassed the plain were covered with Indians assembled to behold the gratifying spectacle of the self-destruction of the Spaniards. The event of this battle was the entire defeat of Almagro's party, and himself made prisoner. (April 26, 1538.)

The Indians, although assembled in vast numbers, had not the courage to descend from the mountains, and fall upon the Spaniards, now fatigued and exhausted by so severe a conflict. Most of the followers of Almagro joined the standard of the governor, whilst he remained for several months a prisoner; but was at length brought to a trial, on a charge of high treason, and condemned to die. This sentence quite broke the spirit of a man, who had so often faced death in the field of battle: although worn down with age and infirmities, his fondness for life led him to supplicate his conquerors; but the two Pizarros, who owed their lives to his clemency, were inexorable, whilst pity touched their followers. Almagro no sooner found that his remonstrances and solicitations were unavailing, than he resumed a fortitude worthy of the reputation he had acquired in arms: he was strangled in prison and afterward publicly beheaded. He left one son, by an Indian woman of Panama, whom he appointed his successor in his government. This youth was then at Lima, in the custody of Pizarro.

Some of the principal men who had fought for Almagro, and did not choose to remain in the coun-

try after his defeat and death, returned to Spain, and were the first to carry an account of the civil dissensions in Peru; whilst they represented the conduct of the Pizarros in the blackest colours. Ferdinand Pizarro arrived there soon after; he in vain attempted to efface the impression which the charges brought against himself and his two brothers had made. To settle these disputes, to restore tranquillity to the country, and secure to Spain the advantages to be derived from so valuable an acquisition, Christoval Vaca de Castro, a judge in the royal audience at Valladolid, was sent out with large discretionary powers. If he found the governor living he was to assume no other title than that of judge; but if he should be dead, Castro received a commission, appointing him governor of Peru; but at the time when such regard was paid to the conqueror, his brother Ferdinand was taken into custody, and kept in confinement, which continued for twenty years.

The turbulent spirits and profligate conduct of the people who had overrun Peru, were utterly repugnant to general tranquillity, and the progressive advance of a new state into order and melioration. In the year 1541, the son of Almagro arrived at manhood; having been educated with great care, and possessing engaging manners, all the late followers of his father, who had been treated with great neglect and injustice by Pizarro in every distribution which had since been made, placed their hopes of obtaining

obtaining redress in supporting this young man, and overthrowing the tyrant. The leader of these malcontents was named Herrada: the plot was fast ripening, and the proceedings having been noticed by some of the adherents to the governor, he was cautioned to be on his guard; but he, disdainingly to attend to the machinations of men whom he had reduced to a state of poverty, replied, "Be under no apprehensions for my safety, for be assured there is nothing to fear, since every man in Peru knows that I can in a moment cut off any head which dares to harbour a thought against me." The security in which this fearless despot reposed proved in the event fatal; for Herrada, at the head of 18 men, entered his palace, in open day, proceeded through several apartments, putting to death all who opposed them, till forcing their way into the tyrant's recess, he fell, after having resolutely withstood, for some time, the force of the assailants. This bold assassination threw the whole country into the most violent commotion: the engaging manners of young Almagro procured him many adherents, but the attachments to the late governor predominated; his brother Gonzalo Pizarro, who had superseded Bernal-cazar in the government of Quito, was not at hand to assert his right to the vacant government.

In this perturbed state of affairs Vaca de Castro arrived, and, in consequence of the death of Francisco Pizarro, produced the royal appointment which constituted him governor, and his authority

was acknowledged wherever he came. On the 16th Sept. 1542, a decisive battle was fought between the army led on by de Castro and the followers of young Almagro; but Herrada, his chief support, had died before this event. One thousand four hundred men were engaged on both sides, and so furious was the conflict, that five hundred were slain; but in the result Vaca de Castro became victorious, for which success he was greatly indebted to the military skill and personal bravery of Francisco de Carvajal, an old and experienced officer, who had been deeply engaged in the wars of Italy. Castro then proceeded to try his prisoners as rebels: forty of whom were condemned to death as traitors, and others were banished from Peru; young Almagro was publicly beheaded at Cuzco.

Whilst the new governor was proceeding to restore order to the distracted country, Charles V. whose attention was at length drawn to render his vast possessions in America permanent and advantageous, at the same time apparently compassionating the case of the oppressed natives, for he had consulted Las Casas upon that grand point, caused a body of laws to be framed for America, which tended to lessen the power and consequence of the new settlers, to prevent the landed possessions which they had acquired from descending to their heirs in certain cases, where the *repartimientos* or shares of land seized appeared to be excessive. The Indians were exempted from personal service, were not compellable to carry the burdens

burdens of travellers, to labour in the mines, or to dive in the pearl fisheries. These regulations were entirely dictated by the emperor, for all his ministers who had conducted the affairs of America remonstrated against them as ruinous; but Charles persisted in enforcing his plan, and sent Francisco Tello de Sandoval to Mexico, to co-operate with Antonino de Mendoza, the viceroy there; at the same time he sent Balco Nugnez Vela to Peru, as governor, with the title of viceroy, and appointed a court of royal audience composed of four eminent lawyers.

In the year 1543 these new officers sailed from Spain for their different destinations of Mexico and Peru. In the former government, the new regulations produced no open act of opposition, but in the latter, they excited the most violent ferment; unaccustomed to wholesome restraints, rendered arrogant by their newly acquired wealth, and habituated to treat the natives as abject slaves, the discontent was so general, and rose to such a height before the arrival of the viceroy and judges, that the prudent and calm reasoning of Vaca de Castro could scarcely so far appease the people, as to induce them to permit the newly appointed officers to land, when they arrived at Tumbez (4th March 1543). Nugnez Vela entirely disregarded the opposition he might have to encounter, confiding in the plenitude of his power, his natural haughtiness of spirit disdained to assume a gentleness of manners in order to effect his

determined purpose of carrying into full effect all the laws, and the entire form of government, which he was sent to introduce; he therefore began to exercise the functions entrusted to him by the emperor in the highest style of authority. The Indians were every where declared to be free, as he proceeded to Lima; at that capital of the new empire, where he was to commence all his irritative operations, his consequential deportment disgusted a people who were little accustomed to reverence legal authority. Several persons of rank were confined; and some put to death without any form of trial. The former governor, Vaca de Castro, was seized upon, imprisoned, and even put in chains, whilst the cause of such treatment to a man who had employed the latest period of his high station in appeasing the general spirit of revolt, is not assigned, by the particular charges being adduced. A conduct so rash and destructive met the fate it merited: the Spaniards, every where ripe for revolt, were soon unanimous in a leader. Gonzalo Pizarro was named at Cuzco, "procurator general of the Spanish nation in Peru" and in that capacity he was empowered to lay their general remonstrances before the royal audience at Lima. Even a Pizarro scrupled for some time to accept an authority repugnant to that of the sovereign in whose dominion he was born, and where he had imbibed his infantile lessons, which had inculcated little more than a reverence for the king and the pope; first principles are as indelible as though innate.

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When Pizarro accepted the appointment, he made himself master of the royal treasure, appointed officers, levied soldiers, seized a large train of artillery, and in this state of hostility he proceeded to Lima. An open rupture had broken out between the viceroy and the four judges, between whom dissensions rose to such an height, that the former was seized upon, and conveyed to a desert island on the coast, and there kept in confinement until he could be sent to Spain. Cepeda, the president of the court of audience, held a secret correspondence with Pizarro, who was likewise very ably supported by Carvajal, who marched into the city by night, seized such general officers as were adverse to Pizarro, and hanged them without the form of a trial. These violent measures extorted from the court of audience the commission in the emperor's name which Pizarro required. The viceroy, who had been put on board a ship to proceed to Spain, was set at liberty by the captain who commanded the vessel, he declaring his readiness to obey the viceroy's commands. Nugnez Vela then gave orders to be landed at Tumbez, and on arriving there, he erected the royal standard and resumed his functions of viceroy. He was joined by several persons of note. Pizarro lost no time in marching to attack him, and being at the head of a much superior force, Nugnez Vela was compelled to retreat, and at length entered Popayan, where Benalcazar, the conqueror of Quito, and the deposed governor, joined him, at the head of
four

four hundred men. With this additional force the viceroy marched forward to give battle to Pizarro. In the action which followed Nùñez Vela was slain; his head was cut off and placed on the public gibbet at Quito. Every thing then submitted to Pizarro, his authority in Peru was acknowledged, his fleet, commanded by Pedro di Hinojosa, ~~rode~~ triumphant on the South Sea; he had taken Panama, and garrisoned Nombre de Dios on the opposite side of the isthmus, which gave him the entire possession of the only course of communication at that time used between Spain and Peru. Elated with this vast accession of power, Pizarro and his followers gave themselves up to the most licentious indulgences, with that riotous spirit usual among low adventurers upon extraordinary success.

In this situation of things Carvajal strongly urged Pizarro to take the bold and decisive step of renouncing all allegiance to the emperor; and, in order to establish himself in independent sovereignty, he counselled him to be liberal in grants, to the Spaniards; to conciliate the natives by marrying the *Coya*, or daughter of the sun, who was next in succession to the crown; to institute orders of nobility and honorary titles. This advice was enforced by Cepeda the lawyer. The ambition of Pizarro led him cordially to approve it, but he was not possessed of sufficient daring to proceed to such extremities: he chose rather to obtain, by a repre-
 • • sentation

sentation to the Spanish court; a confirmation of the grant he had assumed.

Charles V. now made sensible that lenient and temporizing measures alone could secure to him the valuable possession of Peru, selected a man for that important purpose of a disposition entirely different to that of Nugnez Vela his late viceroy. He made choice of Pedro de la Gasca, a priest, in no higher station than that of counsellor to the inquisition, but of such moderation, that he refused a bishopric which was offered him, in order that he might appear with more consequence, and would accept of no other official appointment than that of president of the court of audience in Lima, and declared that he would receive no salary; but he required very unlimited powers to settle the government of Peru; such as, to be authorized to pardon, to punish, to reward as occasion might require; that in case of resistance he should reduce the disaffected to obedience by force of arms. The Spanish ministry objected to the delegation of such authority, considering powers so extensive as totally inadmissible; but the emperor saw the propriety of bestowing such a trust upon so momentous an occasion. Pedro de la Gasca set out on the 26th of May 1546.

When Pizarro heard of Gasca's arrival at Panama, and of the nature of his mission, he determined to oppose his entrance into Peru, or exercising any jurisdiction there. He then sent a deputation to Spain.

Spain, for the purpose of justifying his conduct, and transmitted a request, signed by all the communities in Peru, for the confirmation of the government to himself for life, as the only means of preserving tranquillity there. While he endeavoured to intimidate Gasca by these appearances of strong support, he privately made a tender to him of 50,000 pesos if he would return to Spain without proceeding to exercise the authority with which he was invested; as the last expedient he gave secret orders, in case Gasca remained obstinate, to cut him off either by assassination or poison.

There were at that time 6000 Spaniards settled in Peru, and on their support Pizarro confidently relied; but in this dependance he was fatally deceived, for Hinojosa, who commanded the fleet, and who was intrusted with all these secret orders, disdaining to be the instrument of such measures, openly declared for Gasca and the cause of the emperor. His example was followed by the fleet, also by the garrisons at Panama and Nombre de Dios.

Pizarro, driven to desperation by this powerful defection from his cause, procured the court of audience at Lima to proceed to the trial of Gasca, upon the charges of having seized his ships, seduced his officers, and prevented his deputies from proceeding on their voyage to Spain. Gasca was found guilty by this court, of treason, and condemned to death. Supported by this decision of a court of judicature,

Pizarro

Pizarro got together an army composed of 1000 men.

Gasca, little regarding a sentence so obtained, became convinced that force must be employed; he therefore exerted himself in levying troops from the different settlements on the continent, in which he succeeded so well that he was able to detach a part of his fleet, with a considerable body of troops, to the coast of Peru. These found means to disperse copies of an act of general indemnity, and a revocation of the late edicts. Such conciliatory measures produced a great effect: all who were dissatisfied with Pizarro's arbitrary administration, or retained any sentiments of fidelity to their sovereign, became adverse to the power assumed. Centeno, an officer of considerable weight and ability, who had attached himself to Pizarro, being disgusted at the treatment he had received, returned to his allegiance, and took possession of Cuzco, although garrisoned by 500 men.

Pizarro first directed his march against him, in which attack he could only retain 400 men, but aided by the great military talents of Carvajal, he gained a complete victory. At that time all his adherents were men so loaded with crimes that they had every thing to dread from a due exertion of legal authority. The spoils acquired by this victory were very great, and the treatment of the vanquished merciless.

Gasca about the same time landed at Tumbes, with

with 500 men. Encouraged by his presence every settlement in the low countries declared for the king. The situation of the two parties was now entirely reversed; Cuzco and the adjacent provinces were possessed by Pizarro, whilst all the rest of the empire, from Quito southward, acknowledged the jurisdiction of the president. The gentle and conciliating conduct of Gasca gained him many adherents; although desirous of peace, he did not slacken his preparations for war. He fixed the general rendezvous of his troops in the fertile valley of Xaruxa, on the road to Cuzco, where he remained for some months, in hopes of accommodating matters, and in order to train his soldiers to the use of arms and military discipline; but Pizarro, finding himself at the head of 1000 men, and elated with his success, refused to listen to any terms, although his two most experienced advisers, Carvajal and Cepeda, urged him to accept the president's offer of a general indemnity and the revocation of the obnoxious laws.

All prospect of an accommodation being at an end, on the 29th of December, 1547, Gasca began to move toward Cuzco, at the head of 1600 men; he advanced without opposition to within four leagues of that capital, when Pizarro marched out to give him battle. Carvajal chose the ground with great judgment. When the two armies were on the point of engaging, Cepeda, setting spurs to his horse, galloped off, and surrendered himself to the president;

dent; his example was followed by several other officers, and a general defection in the troops ensued. Pizarro seeing every thing irretrievably lost, cried out in amazement to a few officers who still faithfully adhered to him, "What remains for us to do?" "Let us rush," replied one of them, "upon the enemy's foremost battalion, and die like Romans." Dejected at such a reverse of fortune, he had not spirit to follow this soldierly counsel, and with a tameness, disgraceful to his former fame, surrendered himself to one of Gasca's officers. Carvajal endeavouring to escape, was made prisoner.

Pizarro was beheaded on the day after his surrender; he submitted to his fate with a composed dignity, and seemed desirous to atone by repentance for the crimes which he had committed. The end of Carvajal was suited to his life: on his trial he offered no defence; when the sentence adjudging him to be hanged was pronounced, he carelessly replied, "One can die but once." During the interval between his sentence and execution, he discovered no sign either of remorse for the past or of solicitude for the future: scoffing at all who visited him in his usual sarcastic vein of mirth, with the same quickness of repartee and gross pleasantry as at any other period of his life. Cepeda's treachery, although of the blackest kind, did not subject him to a like fate, for the merit of having deserted his associates at such a critical moment, and with such decisive effect, saved him from immediate punishment;

ment; he was sent, however, as a prisoner to Spain, and died in confinement.

Gasca having done every thing which moderation, disinterestedness, and wisdom, dictated, although his impartial distribution of lands and Indians excited a general clamour of discontent, set out on his return to Spain, February 1st, 1550, having committed the government of Peru to the court of audience. He carried with him the arrears of the royal revenue, amounting to 1,300,000 pesos, after having paid all the expences of the war.

Gasca's reception in Spain was such as his great abilities and services entitled him to receive. No more than 3000 ducats had been disbursed in fitting him out on an expedition which had effected such important reforms in Peru; all which had been brought about by the disinterested virtue and superior wisdom of this extraordinary man. "After distributing among his countrymen," says Dr. Robertson, "possessions of greater extent and value than had ever been in the disposal of a subject in any age or nation, he himself remained in his original state of poverty; and at the very time, when he brought such a large recruit to the royal treasury, he was obliged to apply by petition for a small sum to discharge some petty debts which he had contracted during the course of his service. Charles was not insensible to such disinterested merit. Gasca was received by him with the most distinguishing marks of esteem, and being promoted to the bishopric of Palencia, he passed

passed the remainder of his days in the tranquillity of retirement, respected by his country, honoured by his sovereign, and beloved by all." *History of America*, 8vo Edit. III. 147.

—It was not to be supposed that salutary laws should be uniformly submitted to in succeeding years by such men as the Spaniards settled in Peru; but although insurrections and rebellions did break out, which at different times created much commotion and misery in the country, yet the power of the Spanish monarchy gradually acquired strength and ascendancy; a more quiet and tractable race of men succeeded to the fierce despoilers of the unhappy Indians, and the tyranny of despotic regal rule has now, for two centuries, been fully established there, as in every other of the Spanish possessions in the western world.

CHAP. XIV.

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

THE English, conducted by John Cabot, in the year 1497 (although the discovery has generally, but erroneously, been attributed to his second son Sebastian, who at that time could not have been more than twenty years of age), found the way to North America soon after Columbus had successfully crossed the Atlantic; but as the torments in that country brought down no gold, and the Indians were not bedecked with any costly ornaments, no attempts were made to explore the country for near a century after its discovery. Sir Francis Drake, who traversed the whole circumference of the globe in one voyage, and in one ship (A. D. 1577, &c.), which had never been achieved before, when afterward annoying the Spaniards in the West Indies, and on the main, gained some knowledge of the eastern shore of the northern continent, as he had before of the western parts on the Pacific Ocean, about the same parallel. Sir Walter Raleigh, however, was the first navigator who explored the coast, bestowed on it a name, and attempted to settle a colony (A. D. 1584); but the lands were over-
spread

spread with thick woods, the caprices of a savage race were to be soothed, their jealousies of new settlers to be removed, or their power to be opposed; and, when all these difficulties should be surmounted, the colonists must continue subject to the first condemnatory sentence denounced on the human race, "by the sweat of their brow to eat their bread."

At that time colonization made no part of the system of government, so that there were few stimulents to abandon a native soil for the purpose of seeking possessions in another hemisphere. At length a powerful incentive arose, stronger than the influence of kings, than the love of ease, than the dread of misery. Religion, which had long been converted into the most powerful engine which human subtilty ever made use of to subjugate the mass of mankind, no sooner ceased to be so perverted, than by its own proper force it impelled large bodies of people to renounce every present enjoyment, the instinctive love of a native soil, rooted habits, and dearest connections, and to settle in the dreary wilds of a far distant continent.

When England, by a very singular concurrence of circumstances, threw off the papal yoke, state policy so predominated in the measure, that the consciences of men were still required to bend to the discipline, conform to the ceremonials, and assent to the doctrines which the governing powers established. Although a dissent from the church of Rome was

considered as meritorious, yet a dissent from the church of England, was held to be heretical, and an offence to be punished by the civil magistrate. The human mind, somewhat awakened from a long suspension of its powers by a Wickcliffe, farther enlightened by an Erasmus and Melancthon, and at length called forth into energy by the collision of those two ardent and daring spirits Luther and Calvin, then began to bend all its attention towards religious inquiries; and exercised all its powers in such pursuits. Hence arose a vast diversity of opinions, which gave rise to numerous sects and denominations of Christians; but as the protestant establishment in England held it essential to preserve a unity of faith, those novel opinions obtained no more quarter there than under papal power.

The eastern coast of North America, comprehending a vast extent of country, was considered as of right belonging to England, and was then known by no other names than those of North and South Virginia, which it had received from Sir Walter Raleigh. The persecuted and desperate religionists easily obtained a royal grant of a very extensive tract of land, whither they repaired, not to amass wealth, or to exterminate the inhabitants, but to subsist by industry, to purchase security by honourable intercourse with the natives, and to acquire strength under the auspices of freedom. The establishment made of the quakers, under the conduct of Penn, realized these professions; in other parts a spirit of intolerance

intolerance too much prevailed, and insidious arts were practised on the Indians, which soon excited a rancorous animosity in those tribes. The Spaniards had found the southern division of this vast continent peopled with a pusillanimous and defenceless race of men, whom they sacrificed without scruple or remorse to their ambition and avarice; the European settlers on the coast of North America were not actuated by such a cruel and exterminating spirit; they had juster notions of the rights of man: they also found the inhabitants of that country possessing very different characteristics, less numerous indeed than toward the south, but subsisting by hunting, expert in the use of offensive weapons, sagacious, persevering, not insensible of kindnesses conferred, but implacable when offended, and ever gratifying their revenge by means the most artful, concealed, and cruel. An acquaintance with Europeans has ever been baneful to uncivilized communities in all parts of the globe. These Indians soon discovered a fondness for spirituous liquors, with which the artful traders were too ready to supply them; by the excessive use of these, their natural ferocity has been increased, their passions inflamed, their best principles perverted, diseases never before known introduced, their lives shortened, and their numbers rapidly reduced.

The attention and assistance which Great Britain gave to these colonies increased with the increasing commercial spirit of the nation; indeed, the English Americans may be said to have been, like Minerva,

born adult: no age of barbarism involved in obscurity and ignorance the early period of their existence. Arts and sciences were cultivated ere their woods were cleared; their minds were enlarged without their manners being depraved. The fostering hand of Great Britain nursed the rising genius of the colonies, and an immense expanse of country taught them to contemplate on futurity with exultation. Their towns were built far from the dith of war; their people had multiplied amidst the blessings of peace; their situation and employments rendered them robust and enterprising, without becoming sanguinary. The inroads of the Indians, those aborigines, whose territory they had in most instances rather seized upon than honourably purchased, were confined to their back settlements, and served to keep them attentive without endangering the general safety. The apprehensions from the encroachments of the French were dispelled soon after they had been seriously entertained, and the fortunate termination of that four years' conflict served to teach them to value a security which then became permanent. Civil commotions and intestine wars have stained with blood every kingdom and state, both in ancient and modern times: the Americans were not to expect an exemption from the common lot of humanity; and the time at length arrived, when the horrors and desolations of it were to overspread the country.

Perhaps no event in the history of the world has been more important than the revolution in America, which the contentions between the mother country and

and the colonies produced, by the erection of so many independent, but confederated republics on that continent. The pursuits of America must now be directed to different objects. Whilst colonists, they were perhaps become too much a commercial people: as states, agriculture will demand their first and chief attention. The immense country to the westward is now likely to be brought much sooner into a state of cultivation than if they had continued colonies; population may be expected to advance in a proportion hitherto unknown; and, among a people enjoying such advantages, the human mind ought to be exercised, and its powers enlarged, without being depraved; simplicity of manners, uncontaminated by the impatience of becoming rich, should prevail; and the favoured Americans be known as a people exemplary for integrity in their dealings, for honour, and public virtue.

BOUNDARIES.] By the definitive treaty of peace between the king of Great Britain and the United States of America, which was executed at Paris, on the 3d of September, 1783, the boundaries of these states are fixed to extend on the N. from Nova Scotia, across the four great lakes of Ontario, Erie, Huron, and Superior, assigning to the states the southern half of each, and in the latter the islands Royal and Philippeaux; like Michigan they possess entire: though these lakes have ever been considered as making a part of Canada, and no new regulation of limits has excluded them. This boundary is farther

ther extended through the centre of the lake of the Woods to its most western point. It may be supposed that a want of acquaintance with the geography of the country has caused it to be added from thence on a due West course to the river Mississippi, for if the boundary is carried due West, it will reach the Pacific Ocean, about one degree of latitude South of Nootka Sound. The line, in order to touch the Mississippi, should have been carried from the western side of the lake of the Woods due South. In consequence of this inaccuracy no boundary is settled throughout a space of near three degrees of latitude; it being resumed along the middle of the river Mississippi to thirty-one degree North latitude, where that river begins to divide West Florida from Louisiana. The American States are bounded on the South by the two Floridas. They possess all the eastern coast from the mouth of the river St. Croix, in the bay of Fundy, to St. Mary's river, which divides Georgia from East Florida, and all islands within twenty leagues of any part of the shores.

The states with whom the king of Great Britain concluded this treaty were, New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island with Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia.

These states, in their fullest extent, comprise eighty degrees of latitude, and thirty-three degrees of longitude; they are described as being

1250 miles in length, and 1030 in breadth: reaching from thirty-one degrees to forty-nine degrees North latitude, and from fifty-one degrees to eighty-four degrees West longitude from Greenwich; but as the Americans have fixed their meridian at the city of Philadelphia, the extent in longitude from that city is, from nine degrees East to twenty-four degrees West.

Although the longitudinal extent is laid down to be nearly double to the latitudinal, yet the limits are so intersected on the northward, that toward the N. W. coast it lies in forty-five degrees, except a small district of land, which reaches to almost forty-seven degrees; but in the interior country, on lake Erie, the boundary is on forty-two degrees: its greatest extent is on the coast, toward the N. E. where only it is forty-nine degrees. Its longitudinal extent, from New England on the E. to a little below Nootka Sound on the W. comprehends the whole continental breadth, from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean, and it is only in that part that its breadth is 1030 miles.

Mr. Hutchins, the late geographer of the United States, computed that the surface contained within the boundaries so described, is one million of square miles, which comprehends six hundred and forty millions of acres; and he computes that of these, fifty-one millions are water, or about twenty-fifth parts of the whole: so that the land of the United States amounts to five hundred and eighty-nine

nine millions of acres; about three-fifths of which is comprised within the states which now compose the union; the remaining two hundred and twenty millions of acres, which lie West of the northern and middle states, and N. W. of the river Ohio, and extend to the river Mississippi, together with an extensive territory South of the Ohio, originally ceded to the United States, by North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, forms what is usually denominated "the western territory."

GOVERNMENT.] A general Congress was first held at Philadelphia, in September 1774, and was composed of delegates chosen by the houses of representatives of each of the twelve old colonies; Georgia alone being unrepresented in that assembly, but it afterward acceded, and the number of members then amounted to fifty-four, and a president; two years after, the number was reduced to forty-eight. In this assembly each colony had no more than a single voice, whether its deputation was more or less numerous; so that a contrariety of opinion among the deputies from any particular colony, if the majority were in favour of the measure, did not occasion a dissenting voice in the congress; the sense of any colony could not be taken if its deputies were equally divided in their opinions; which was likely frequently to occur, as seven of the colonies sent either two or four deputies; the other five were represented by three, five, seven, or nine.

In the year 1776 Congress, by a solemn act, re-
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nounced

nounced allegiance to the king of Great Britain, and declared the American colonies to be Independent States. In March, 1781, articles of confederation were ratified; and the style of the confederation was settled to be, "United States of America." The particular articles agreed upon by this compact need not here be spoken of, as in a convention of all the states, which was held at New York, where General Washington presided, a new constitution was agreed upon, from which the delegates from Rhode Island alone dissented. It consisted of seven articles, which were transmitted to Congress for their approbation, which having received, in the year 1789, General Washington was chosen president of the Congress thus formed.

This new system of republican government retains much of the spirit of the English constitution; and those two essential securities to individuals in their persons and their property, the habeas corpus act and trial by jury, are retained. It unites the American States in a much closer confederation than the Helvetic union brought the Swiss Cantons, or even than the compact entered into by the Seven United Provinces of the Netherlands placed the Dutch. Indeed, in many important points, it is such a form of government as the world had not before seen. The most effectual measures seem to have been taken to remove what was formerly a fruitful source of animosity and dissension among the colonies, the unde-

fixed bounds of their respective territories, as every state has now renounced all right of deciding upon their claims, and has agreed that they shall be laid before Congress, and decided upon by that assembly as a court of judicature. In this new form of government the several independent states may be said to have delegated to Congress all the functions of government, except retaining their interior constitution, but deprived of the power of levying duties on merchandize, of equipping ships of war, of making foreign alliances, or waging war; for, as the preamble to the new constitution expresses it, in the federal government of these states, "it is impossible to secure all right of independent sovereignty to each, and yet provide for the interest and safety of all."

The president of the congress, the senate, and representatives, form a legislative body somewhat similar to the king, lords, and commons of Great Britain, in that every act of congress must have a majority of votes in the two houses, and receive the assent of the president, before it can pass into a law; but the American constitution differs in many particulars: the president of the congress has not a power absolutely to negative any bill, he can only refuse his assent, and at the same time is required to assign the reasons, which he founds his refusal; the business is then to undergo a fresh discussion in both houses, and the bill must be passed by two thirds of the members

members of each house, which constitutes it a law without the concurrence of the president.

No specific portion of property, whether real or personal, is required to be possessed as a qualification, either for a representative, a senator, the vice-president, or the president. Nor is any one excluded on account of the religious principles which he professes, whatever they may be; so that Jews or Roman Catholics are as eligible as any other citizens. The house of representatives are chosen every two years by the people of the several states. The only legal requisites in a candidate are his having attained to to twenty-five years of age; having been seven years a citizen of the United States; and, at the time of his election, an inhabitant of the state by which he is chosen; the holding of any place of honour, trust, or emolument, is an absolute disqualification. In this representation there is no distinction of knights, citizens, and burgeses; it not being made out of counties, cities, and borough towns; for the exclusive rights and peculiar privileges of corporations are entirely unknown here. The design of the new constitution is that the number of representatives in congress shall not exceed one representative for every 30,000, but that each state shall have at least one representative. An enumeration or census of inhabitants was to be made within three years after the first meeting of the congress of the United States (it was made much sooner), and a fresh enumeration made within every subsequent term of ten years.

In the year 1790, a census was made of all the inhabitants; when they were classed under the following heads, the result of which enquiry is stated below.

Free white males, from sixteen years of age and upward,	807,094
Free white males under sixteen,	794,900
Free white females, without discrimination of age,	1,541,263
All other free persons, of either sex, and all ages,	59,150
Slaves,	694,280
	<hr/>
	3,896,687

The south west territory was found to contain inhabitants, in the whole, to the amount of

35,691

3,732,378

To the honour of the state formed by Mayne and Massachusetts there was not a slave there. Virginia had 292,627, and Pennsylvania 3,737.

The present state of representation is, arranging the several states according to the time when each acceded to the general confederacy,

Delaware	1
Pennsylvania	13
New Jersey	5
Georgia	2
Connecticut	7
Maine	2
Massachusetts	12
Maryland	3
South Carolina	6
New Hampshire	4
Virginia	19
New York	10
North Carolina	10

The above twelve states acceded to the new constitution in the year 1789.

Rhode Island, May 29, 1790.

Vermont, January 10, 1791.

Kentucky, June 1, 1792.

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The salaries paid to the great officers who conduct the affairs of government are,

- The president of the Congress, and commander in chief of the military and naval forces, 25,000 dollars. (5300*l.* sterling.)
- Vice-president, and president of the Senate, 3,000 dollars. (1060*l.*)
- The speaker of the House of Representatives, twelve dollars per diem during his attendance. (2*l.* 11*s.*)

The members of the Senate and House of Representatives, six dollars (1*l.* 5*s.* 6*d.*) for every day's attendance; as well as for every twenty miles travelling to and from the seat of government.

The secretary of the Senate and clerk of the House of Representatives each 1,500 dollars. (320*l.*)

The chief justice of the supreme court, 4000 dollars, (850*l.*) and four associated justices, 3,500 dollars each.

The estimated amount of foreign debt, on the 4th of August 1790, when an act was passed to make provision for the debts incurred, appeared to be 11,710,178 dollars, or 2,488,455 pounds sterling; the estimated amount of the domestic debt, with the arrears of interest to the 31st December 1790, as reported to the House of Representatives by their secretary, was,

Liquidated, 40,414,085

Unliquidated, 2,000,000

Dollars, 42,414,085

or 9,012,992 pounds sterling. To discharge which, a subscription was opened for a loan, on the 30th of September 1793, and nearly a sufficient sum was subscribed; the amount being 39,635,248 dollars.

The American states in their house of commons are not represented by above one third of the number by which the people of Great Britain are represented in their house, calculating upon the supposed population of each country.

The senate of the United States, which may be considered as the upper house of parliament, is composed of two senators from each state, chosen, not from the people at large, but from the legislature thereof. No one can be chosen a senator who has not attained to thirty years of age, who has not been nine years a citizen,

a citizen, and is not a resident in the state where he is chosen: he cannot hold any place of honour, trust, or profit. These senators, when assembled, are to be divided into three classes; those in the first class shall vacate their seats at the expiration of the second year; those of the second class, at the end of the fourth year; and of the third class, at the expiration of the sixth year.

The president of the United States, in whom is vested the executive power, and who must not be under thirty-five years of age, is chosen by the nomination of each state, who for this purpose names two, and the person upon whom the largest number of suffrages falls obtains this distinguished rank, which is held for four years. In like manner the vice-president is to be elected, and for the same term. The latter is president of the senate. The president, vice-president, senate, and representatives, are to be paid for their services at a rate to be settled by law, and out of the treasury of the United States.

As the first regulation, by which each state had only one vote in congress, is abolished, and the majority of voices among the representatives now carry a question, the weight of interest which the largest colonies possess in that house may be considered as greatly predominating over the smaller states, who send only one or two representatives each; but as the senate is composed of two delegates from every state, and no bill can pass into a law without the concurrence

currence of that house, the interest of each state is equally maintained there. The executive powers of the president are likewise subject to the advice and control of the senate, by which participation of power each state has an equal opportunity of being informed of the secret measures which are pursuing by government, and an equal power of enforcing or checking them.

That both the legislative and executive branches of government, over more than three millions of people, should be placed, when first formed, in the hands of only ninety-three persons, might be considered as dangerous to the pure principles of a republican constitution, by tending to cause it to degenerate into an aristocracy; but the most effectual precautions seem to have been taken to repress the spirit of ambition, and views of aggrandizement inherent in human nature, by every individual being chosen for a short term, from his being inhibited from enjoying any kind of post, or receiving, without permission, any kind of present.

The president, by virtue of his office, is commander in chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several states when called into the actual service of the union. He has power to grant reprieves and pardons for offences against the United States, except in cases of impeachment. With the advice and consent of the senate, he has the power to make treaties, but the concur-

rence of two thirds of the senators present is necessary to render such an act valid. He nominates, and, with the advice and consent of the senate, appoints ambassadors, consuls, judges of the supreme court, and all other officers of the United States, not otherwise appointed by the constitution. He may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both houses, or either of them; and, in case of disagreement between them with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper. He receives ambassadors, and other public ministers, and is empowered to take care that the laws be faithfully executed.

The congress has the power to impose and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts, and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts, and excises, are to be uniform throughout the United States. To borrow money on the credit of the United States. To regulate commerce with foreign nations, also among the several states, and with the Indian tribes. To coin money, to regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin; and to fix the standard of weights and measures. To constitute tribunals inferior to the supreme court. To declare war, grant letters of mark and reprisal. To raise and support armies; but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years. [The British constitution restrains it to a single year.] To provide and maintain a navy.

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To provide for, call forth, arm, and discipline the militia: each state to appoint the officers of their militia, and to possess the authority of training them, according to the discipline prescribed by congress. All bills for raising a revenue to originate in the house of representatives. The privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion, or invasion, the public safety may require it. No money shall be drawn from the treasury but in consequence of appropriations made by law, and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditure of all public money shall be published from time to time. No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States; and no person holding any office of profit or trust under them shall, without the consent of the congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title, of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign state. Each particular state is, by this confederation, debarred from entering into any treaty, alliance, or confederation, coin money, emit bills of credit, make any thing but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts, or grant any title of nobility. No state shall, without the consent of the congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection-laws; whilst the nett produce of such duties shall be for the use of the general treasury, and subject to the revision and control of congress.

On surveying the nature of the government thus established in North America, it will appear, that the genuine spirit of the British constitution has been much diffused through that of America. The code of laws which this new state will adopt, is likely to partake no less of the principles of British jurisprudence, but it is to be hoped that it will be as much simplified, and divested of legal chicane and circuitry as is consistent with the judicial preservation of freedom. It is highly gratifying to an Englishman, when viewing these interesting events, to reflect that not only the constitution and laws of his country will be thus perpetuated over a continent, which in future ages must be immensely populous, but that his language will be preserved so long as the world shall endure. In the late war, whilst the French officers served in America, many of them were solicitous to become acquainted with the language spoken in the country, and it was at that time no small mortification to the Americans to consider it as the language of their invaders: it became therefore common among them to call the English language "the American," and to say to such foreigners as spoke it, "you speak American well." "The American is not difficult to learn." The Marquis de Chastellux says that they carried their aversion to the language so far as seriously to propose introducing another language, which should be taught in schools and made use of, in all public acts; but these resentful feelings have happily subsided.

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The third congress was assembled in December 1793, when the illustrious George Washington was re-chosen president; nor was there another man in any degree qualified like him to fill that dignified and important station; yet it is much to be apprehended that such a re-election, at the commencement of the constitution, may furnish a precedent which, in future times, shall prove very injurious to its original purity, as well as essential principle. Experience has fully proved, that elective offices, if not carefully guarded, are liable to be converted into tenures for life; and it may be deemed a discussion of much nicety, as well as importance, whether it had not been more advisable for the states to have lost the ostensible services of that great man, for the four succeeding years, rather than by reinstating him to lay a foundation for a destructive innovation in future times; and such a sacrifice of present advantage to futurity, would have utterly frustrated all attempts of ambitious men hereafter to gain the presidency for life.

[RELIGION.] The spirit of toleration, which prevails in America in the fullest manner possible, has caused a vast diversity of sects to be settled on that continent; and led it to be called "the land of sectaries." In most of the New England provinces the Presbyterians and Independents are numerous, but in Connecticut the form of worship and ecclesiastical government of the church of England prevail. More to the southward the Quakers are extremely numerous,

numerous, and the Moravians are increasing and flourishing greatly. Methodism likewise spreads very wide; but it has been said by an extensive observer of the present prevailing manners in these states, that "the prevalent religion of the principal inhabitants of America, and particularly to the southward, is pure Deism; called by the name of philosophy in Europe. A spirit which has contributed in no small degree to the revolution, and produced their unfettered constitutions of freedom and toleration. *Chastellux' Travels, II. 197. Note.*

When the independence of the American States was acknowledged by the British government, it became necessary that the clergy who adhered to the discipline of the church of England should obtain ordination, and that all ecclesiastical affairs should be transacted without crossing the Atlantic, and applying to an English bishop: at length an act of parliament was passed in England, authorising the metropolitan to consecrate American bishops. These now ordain priests and deacons for the service of the church of England there, but have no revenues annexed to their sees, and are no otherwise distinguished from the body of the clergy than by pre-eminence of rank.

From the accounts published at Philadelphia by Mr. Tench Coxe (commissioner of the revenue there); and very lately reprinted in London, it appears, that Pennsylvania is by far the most thriving state in the union. The population of this state has increased

increased considerably beyond the estimate made by Dr. Franklin, which supposed the inhabitants to double their numbers in the revolution of twenty years. The plenty of pit-coal in Pennsylvania, the same writer asserts, will very soon give it an immense advantage over all the interior country N. and E. of it, in which, though colder than Pennsylvania, it is not known that there is one coal mine open, or that there is any considerable appearance of that valuable fossil. Of the various manufactures of Pennsylvania Mr. Coxe gives a very particular enumeration; the political views of the American government is to foster and encourage, but not to force, manufactures. Breweries are carried on very successfully, and, in order to discourage the use of spirituous liquors, a low duty has been imposed upon them, which has been the means of introducing the excise laws into America. In three years, from the end of 1790 to the end of 1793, more public funds and private capitals have been applied to the improvement of roads and rivers, and the cutting of canals, than from the first settlement of the state to that time. The practice of making sugar from the sap or juice of the maple-tree had prevailed for many years in the northern and eastern states: in the year 1790 it became practised by the Pennsylvanians; the same tree is capable of being tapped without injury to its growth and vigour for many years, the process is simple and easy; and the proper season for it is between the middle of February

and the end of March. Mr. Coxe supposes that a sufficient quantity of sugar may be obtained from the maple-tree to answer the consumption of that article in the states of Pennsylvania and New York. Iron is abundant throughout the union, except in the Delaware state. Virginia is supposed to be the state most pregnant with minerals and fossils of any in the union.

THE END

